The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1893.

SHALL THE SENATE RULE THE REPUBLIC?

THE Senate has made it fearfully clear that for a long time we have been steadily drifting toward most dangerous shoals, and it is perhaps to be thanked for having given the helm a turn, which has suddenly brought the breakers into plain view. Thoughtful patriots, in and out of the press, have for years warningly called attention to the fact that, in consequence of the part money has been allowed to play in politics, and for other reasons, the Senate was swiftly gliding down from the high plane it had heretofore occupied. But what they complained of was that nobody would be tempted in the future, as many a keen observer has been in the past, to see in it the noblest and the strongest column of the glorious political structure erected by the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention of 1787. The most dismal croaker has not ventured to go to the length of prophesying that ere long the Senate would allow itself, in a most portentous crisis, to become nothing but a clog upon the other wheels of government; to submit in senile impotency to the yoke and the lash of a handful of its members; to laugh insulting scorn in the face of the people, and with brazen audacity pillory popular government before the world.

That is the pass to which things have come. The Holy Book tells us of a fool that sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. The Senate of the United States sells not only its rights, but also its sworn duties, and not only these, but also the birthright of the people of the United States, for less—for the ghost of a shadow, euphoniously called the "courtesy of the Senate." Let it beware! The people of the United States are the most patient people on the face of

Copyright, 1892, by the Forum Publishing Company.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the earth—often patient to the verge of criminality—but there is, after all, a limit to their patience, and they are not fools. It will not long be permitted to shield itself by pleading that, willing or not, it cannot break loose from its allegiance to this ghost of a shadow, because to dethrone the exacting sovereign is rendered impossible by its rules. So much the worse for the Senate, if it has mistaken rules for a synonym of manacles and the garrote. But if it has been betrayed into making its rules chains, they are forged by itself. Therefore it is bound to devise some means for changing them, so that they become what they have a right to be: the prescribed forms for action, and not contrivances to render action impossible. The Senate unquestionably has the constitutional right to prevent any legislation desired by the House of Representatives, the President and a majority of the people; but it outrageously tramples under foot the underlying principle of the whole Constitution, if it perverts the right given by Article I., Section 5, Clause 2, to each House of Congress to "determine the rules of its proceedings," into a privilege enabling every one of its members to prevent for an indefinite time its acting.

This perversion virtually bestows upon every individual Senator the right which the Constitution has given to the Senate only as a body: it gives him an absolute veto upon all legislation. If the people of the United States suffer this, they are indeed in a most essential respect worse off than the people of the most benighted monarchy in the world, for they have deemed fit, as to the negative, to set eighty and odd absolute masters over themselves: every one of whom can bring the legislative apparatus to a dead stop. The legislature of Nevada, with a population barely sufficient for a good-sized third-class city, has then constitutional power to delegate to two men the infrangible right of condemning the seventy millions of the United States to be a stagnant pool in regard to vital questions. To the United States, then, the glorious feat has been reserved, of reviving the *liberum veto* of Poland. If there ever was method in madness, surely it is here.

Let no one call this extravagant language. It is fully warranted by the facts. Respect for the rights of the minority rests upon a much stronger basis than the "courtesy of the Senate." There is a good deal of truth in the saying, that government is instituted rather for the protection of the minority, than to secure the rights of the majority. Though the promptest action was highly desirable, not only the courtesy of the Senate but this vital principle of all just and free government imperatively demanded that the minority should

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not be gagged, but allowed all the time required for propounding and defending its views. The assertion that this has been done in a measure which no European legislative body would have allowed, is unquestionably true, but it is not conclusive. The decisive point is that it is admitted by the minority itself to have been done to an extent which does not leave it an inch of ground to rest a complaint on. It is no more only a patent, it is also a confessed fact that the minority continues the talking, although it is done with arguing. The Senate and the people of the United States have been told in the plainest words that the Senate will not be allowed to act, until it submits to doing what it thinks it ought not to do.

"What will you do about it?" Tammany tauntingly asked some twenty years ago the people of the city of New York. The same taunt is now defiantly hurled in the face of the Senate and the people of the United States by some Senators. What will be the Senate's answer? An incorrect answer would be a great calamity, but it would be a still greater calamity not to answer at all. Any compromise —no matter how small its demerits from the purely economical points of view might be—would manifestly be an incorrect answer, simply because the Senate is not so divided in opinion that only by a compromise can a majority be secured for any measure. A clear majority is for unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and therefore the correct preamble of any compromise measure would read thus—

"Whereas the majority has allowed itself to be bullied into submission by the minority, be it enacted——"

Are the people of the United States prepared to indorse and ratify such an answer? "Compromise is the essence of politics," says Macaulay. If ever a people has proved that it is, intellectually and morally, capable of living up to what there is of truth and wisdom in this maxim, it is the people of the United States.

But there are two chapters on "Compromises" in the history of this country. If ever the history of a people contained solemn warnings against compromises that are vicious in their essence, it is also that of the people of the United States. Here is a case where Macaulay's maxim is a snare and a pitfall. A democratic republic saps the very foundation of popular government, if it resign itself into having its course determined by a faction daring to inscribe upon its banner in glaring capitals, "Rule or ruin." Have the people of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the United States already forgotten the penalty they have once had to pay for letting such a faction gain a firm foothold and also build the citadel of its works in the Senate? Don't laugh! If you fancy grewsome predictions of another civil war, you must go to the silverites. The steed of Colorado's Governor will have to allay its thirst to the end of its days with water, without ever getting the slightest taste of blood. But there is something even worse than civil war: dry rot. And if a faction that flaunts this legend, not for a great principle like that of State Sovereignty, but for the sake of illegitimate profit, is suffered to have its way, then the germs of dry rot are introduced into the sap of the tree. Therefore a compromise—whatever its stipulations—would cost more than all the mountains of silver piled up in the vaults of the Treasury. Evil days are in store for the country, if the people do not realize that and fail to render, upon such an answer of the Senate, the verdict, "You have not had the nerve to act up to your convictions and vindicate the vital principle of the republic; an error of judgment can be forgiven, a conscious betrayal of a sacred trust—never!"

It is high time for the people to speak out in such a way that the Senate can no longer indulge in any doubt as to whether this would be the sentence of the people. Senator Cameron's speech has made it terribly clear that there is fearful danger in any further delay. If one tariff-huckster brazenly announces that he stands ready to strike a bargain with the silverites, who will undertake to vouch for it that others are not also getting ready to follow his example—openly or secretly? And if an interest in the continuance of high protective duties is a legitimate reason for trading off one's convictions in regard to the silver question, why should it not be legitimate to barter them away for some advantage in the light-shunning games of personal politics? To whom in both the great political camps does not the name readily occur of more than one Senator, whose past record warrants the suspicion that if a good opportunity should offer itself for such manœuvres, he might deem himself none too good to improve it?

Though there is a clear majority for unconditional repeal, it is, at present appearances, by no means without the range of possibilities that, so far as it depends on the Senate, we may ultimately be snatched out of the frying-pan into the fire. But even then the economical disaster would be the least part of the damage done. Of more portentous import would be the fact in itself that in a question on which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the economical welfare of the whole country is conceded by all to depend, the Senate had dared to turn into a conclave of higgling brokers, though on its merits a clear majority was confessedly of one opinion. "As proud as a Roman Senator," Thomas Benton used to say of himself. This inscription over the door of the Senate chamber would be in the spirit of the fathers of the republic. Is the present generation, after four millions have swelled into seventy millions, prepared to let it be changed into, "Sharp and unscrupulous as horse-jockeys driving a bargain"? Thirty years ago, North and South spilt their blood like water for what they deemed their constitutional rights and duties. Cannot even those who are eventually to profit by the threatening bargain, now muster enough of manhood, patriotic pride and loyalty to principle, to scorn being bribed by ignoble lucre into renouncing the priceless heritage of the fathers? Are the people ready to chime in with recreant Senators and cry, "Let the Constitution and the political honor of the country take care of themselves; every one for his own pocket and the devil take the hindmost; hurrah! In for the scramble"?

Ay, the Constitution! The Constitution declares itself ordained and established "to promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty," not to fly in the face of the general welfare for the purpose of serving particular and personal interests, and to secure the curses of abused liberty, forgetting that rights involve duties. Will the people not recall to Senators, so that they must mind, that upon them rights have been conferred only to the end of enabling them to fulfil their constitutional duties, and that the paramount duty they have solemnly sworn to fulfil, is to do what they in good faith believe will promote—not the alleged interests of silver-miners, indebted farmers, manufacturers, this or that political party, or some individual politician—but "the *general* Welfare"? If the people have come to consider the preamble of the Constitution, which is its vital breath, a good thing to talk about when the Eagle likes to hear itself screech again for a change, but of no concern to practical men, in or out of the Senate, in regard to their acting, then it is indeed time for every true patriot, not to veil his head in sorrow and dismay, but to sound the alarm to the best of his ability.

But if such is the direful import of an incorrect answer to the insolent question, "What are you going to do about it?" how, then, can no answer to it be still worse? Well, no answer would practically also be an answer and it would read thus: "Nothing! The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time-honored courtesy of the Senate renders it obligatory upon the Senate, to let itself be made a fool of, if any Senator chooses to subject it to such treatment." This would force upon the people the rejoinder, "A great republican nation, that allows its legislature to stultify itself to the extent of declaring itself in duty bound—irrespective of all consequences to the state—to let itself be kicked by its members, whenever and so long as they choose, signs its own political death-warrant." To give an incorrect answer would be an attempt upon the vital principle of the republic in reference to a specific question; no answer would amount—not in fact, but in principle—to the renunciation of the very idea of government. Whoever says government, says *act;* and to put the possibility of acting at the mercy of every member of the legislature is virtually to abandon the right to act.

In which clause of the Constitution has the Senate found the authority to renounce this right on its own part, and, thereby, on the part of Congress? Every right conferred by the Constitution is a right under it as a whole and granted for the sole purpose of carrying out the intentions and behests of the Constitution. There is the constitutional limit of the Senate's constitutional right to "determine the rules of its proceedings." If they are so framed that some Senators, who prove themselves devoid of the required sense of honor and duty, can and do turn them into a means of reducing the Senate to the character of a debating society, while the Constitution has created it an integral part of the law-making power, it is the imperative constitutional duty of the Senate to change them; for, though not in themselves unconstitutional, they are perverted from a means of carrying out the Constitution into a means of subverting it. The courtesy of the Senate goes for nothing if pitched against common sense—not to speak at all of the Constitution.

That is the true issue now before the people of the United States: are we to have a legislature always and in regard to every question calling for legislation and within the constitutional powers of Congress; or are we to have one only when and so far as every Senator, in his good pleasure, is graciously inclined to let us have one? No American, not utterly blinded by passion or utterly lost to patriotism by the promptings of sordid self-interest of some kind or another, can doubt for a moment what answer it is his duty to give. Still, to say that according to the Constitution it is the right and the duty of the Senate to judge for itself, when the proper hour for acting has come,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will do no better than to attempt to shut out the light of the noon-day sun by a screen of gossamer. It has been acknowledged that argument is exhausted and talking is continued only for the purpose of preventing action. Therefore the people must compel the Senate to act without further delay.

They can do it, if they but will it. They need only to manifest their will in such a manner that there is no longer any mistake possible as to what it is. The press and the representative men of business have not been heeded. Now let the people themselves step forward—the people, irrespective of their party associations or even their opinions in regard to the silver question, for if they will but open their eyes they cannot fail to see that they are all indissolubly bound up in a common interest in regard to the true issue. Let them ask, in mass meeting assembled—ask in an authoritative tone, not that the Senate do this or that, but solely that the Senate *act*. Ah, how quickly and with what alacrity would they pour out and speak in a voice of thunder, if the Senate were presuming to act the part of King Stork. All the difficulty in arousing the people to a proper sense of the danger threatening the country is due to the fact that the Senate enacts the part of King Log.

And this is not all. Whatever Senators may think about the dignity and the worth of the Senate, the people of the United States cannot afford to let it drift into becoming a worthless, or worse than worthless, body. To wipe it out of existence—as, perhaps, the House of Lords will be wiped out in not too distant a future—will not do. Not only the historical evolution of the United States renders its perpetual conservation indispensable. To abolish the Senate would be virtually the abandonment of the federal principle; and a republic of the size of the United States, that is not constructed upon the federal principle, must inevitably drift into anarchy or absolutism, or a combination of both. The relations between the Executive and Legislative would be lacking the necessary regulating balance-wheel, if the President were confronted by a One-House Congress. Unless they are elected at the same time, their pulling together would more and more become a question of chance, and by pulling together they might easily render themselves even a greater curse to the people than if, by incessant wrangling, they should frequently bring the government to a deadlock, or keep the political temperature constantly at fever heat. When somebody railed at the adoption of the bi-cameral system by the Constitution, one of its authors—I forget who it was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—interposed by asking, "What do you do, when your tea is too hot?" "I pour it into the saucer to cool," was the reply. "Well," rejoined the sage, "the Senate is the saucer."

If any modern constitutional state cannot dispense with such a saucer, then it is this republic. But if we must have it, it is also as imperative upon us to keep it fit to serve its purposes. To say that we absolutely need it, and at the same time maintain that to let it become a useless and noxious incumbrance would not necessarily result in fatally injuring the commonwealth, is a contradiction in terms. Therefore, even considered but as a symptom indicative of the general state of health enjoyed by this vital part of our governmental organism, the spectacle presented by the Senate at this juncture is ample cause for the gravest and most anxious solicitude.

Now, what are the purposes the Senate was to serve? It owes its existence, of course, primarily to the necessity of giving due recognition to the principle of State equality. If in this respect the historical evolution of a century has wrought any change, it is of a negative character; *i.e.*, it may now be considered a debatable question whether, so far as the principle of State equality has found expression in the equal representation of the States in the Senate, its maintenance in its full rigor is still in the strict sense of the word of vital import. But however that be, it is an indisputable fact that the fathers of the Constitution did not merely make a virtue of necessity. They were quick to see that tasks of the greatest consequence, which were in no way connected with State equality and which it would have been impossible adequately to provide for in any other way, could be assigned to the Senate. If time has wrought any change as to these tasks, they have certainly not become less essential. I shall mention but two of them.

A Senate is needed, says the "Federalist," because

> "a due sense of National character . . . can never be sufficiently possessed by a numerous and changeable body. It can only be found in a number so small that a sensible degree of the praise and blame of public measures may be the portion of each individual; or in an assembly so durably invested with public trust, that the pride and consequence of its members may be sensibly incorporated with the reputation and prosperity of the community."

Let the people and let Senators ponder, how far the Senate comes up to this standard. How far have we to go back in the history of the country to find as cruel a blow struck at the national character as the Senate is dealing it now?

A Senate, says the same authority, is needed, because without it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the government would be characterized by mischievous mutability. In the Senate "the cool and deliberate sense of the community" is to find expression. Yes, that is the paramount constitutional task of the Senate: it is to represent the sober second thought of the sovereign people in the authoritative formulating of its legislative will. Does the Senate at the present juncture represent any thought?

By being the official embodiment of the sober second thought of the people in formulating its legislative will, argues the "Federalist," the Senate will secure the stability of the government; and it concludes its summary of the consequences of "public instability" by the following sentences—

> "But the most deplorable effect of all this is that diminution of attachment and reverence, which steals into the hearts of the People, toward a political system which betrays so many marks of infirmity, and disappoints so many of their flattering hopes. No Government, no more than an individual, will long be respected, without being truly respectable."

Does the Senate act in a way calculated to be considered "truly respectable"? If it continues thus, will it still "long be respected"? If the Senate ceases to be respected, must not, of necessity, "a diminution of attachment and reverence" toward the whole "political system" "steal into the hearts of the People"? Will the people rest satisfied with grumbling over their morning paper and then go about their business? Will they not at last awaken to the full consciousness that this is their business above and before all other? Will they not draw the logical conclusions of the fact that upon them rests the ultimate responsibility, and that, like every other people, they will be governed as they deserve to be governed?

Am I to be told that not every black cloud is the harbinger of a cyclone? The reminder is superfluous. I know full well that, whatever the possibilities as to an economical catastrophe may be, we are absolutely sure that at this time no political catastrophe of any character whatever will befall us. But I know as well that commonwealths, like individuals, ought to beware the most of slow poisons, and that the true test of the political capacities of a people is to cure ere the application of the knife becomes necessary. The hand has commenced to trace its ominous warning on the wall. Is it the wise man's and the patriot's or the fool's counsel, to look on and wait, till it has finished writing and its prophecy is fulfilled? I have not said, we are in the breakers; but I do say: breakers ahead!

H. VON HOLST.

CHICAGO UNIVERSITY, Oct. 8, 1893.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SENATE IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

As soon after the organization of the Federal Government as the best public opinion had had time clearly to formulate itself, there was a practical unanimity of opinion that, whatever parts of the government might break down, the Senate was so happily devised as to remain the stablest and safest part of the whole structure. It was made up, to quote from the "Federalist," of "those men who have become the most distinguished by their abilities and virtues and in whom the people perceive just grounds for confidence;" . . . "those who best understand our national interests and whose reputation for integrity inspires and merits confidence." The Senatorial conception of duty and dignity was as high as is indicated by Hamilton's remarks—

> "That a man should have the power in private life of recalling his agent is proper; because in the business in which he is engaged, he has no other object but to gain the approbation of his principal. Is this the case with the Senators? Is he simply the agent of the State? No. He is an agent for the Union and he is bound to perform services necessary for the good of the whole, though his State should condemn them." (Elliot's "Debates," p. 306.)

This ideal was very fairly realized from the foundation of the government until a period that is almost within the memory of men now living. The Senate became incomparably the foremost legislative body of the modern world. Some of the most remarkable men of the century performed their most remarkable achievements there, and the body of eloquence and learning that went to the building-up of its influence and traditions includes, in fact, the best literature that we have produced. There is no doubt, either, that for two or three generations of Senators the ability and dignity of the body constantly grew. It was in the Senate that the principles which underlie our government were most eloquently expounded and emphasized; it was from the Senate that the genuine patriotism of the American people received its most valuable lessons; and it was in the Senate, during the days of its power and of its glory, that the conflicting constitutional principles were expounded in that long series of debates which built up the national feeling for the last great struggle out of which grew the firmer establishment of the Union.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In its earliest days, the Senate was by no means the great body that it afterward became. In the first session there were only twenty-two Senators, and then, as for a long time afterward, their meetings were secret. The debates had comparatively little direct effect on public opinion. A good picture of this first Senate is given in the following paragraph from Schouler's "History of the United States"—

"Into the Senate chamber we cannot enter. The sessions of this body are held behind closed doors, and will so continue long after Federal Hall has ceased to hold an American Congress. But if we waited outside until adjournment we might count, among some twenty who come down the stairs, four signers at least of the Declaration,—the banker-statesman, Robert Morris, George Read, Richard Henry Lee who introduced the resolves, and the rich Roman Catholic, Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, who was the last survivor of all that band. We should also see Ellsworth, of Connecticut, in later life an envoy and the chief justice; Langdon, the first president *pro tempore;* Strong, of Massachusetts; Paterson, of New Jersey, and Pierce Butler, of South Carolina. New York's Senators, not yet chosen, will be General Schuyler and Rufus King, the latter recently from Massachusetts, who, as a statesman of the future, will on the whole be the most famous of this body. For the long, greyhound-like Virginian, who, after various ups and downs, distanced all of these first compeers in the Senate, and enjoyed the distinction of the most universally popular of Presidents after the first, James Monroe, will not belong to this Congress until he comes at a later session to fill a vacancy caused by death." (Volume I., pp. 81, 82.)

It was not until 1820 that the Senate, which had by that time doubled its original size, began to gather the great volume of force and traditions which culminated in the glory of the subsequent period. The corresponding picture of the body of 1849, when Webster and Clay and Calhoun were still there, given by the same historian, is as follows—

"Upon the Senate chamber, then, that segment of narrow space crammed with immortal intellect, was fixed the gaze of the representatives, and the attention, besides, of the whole country. Never, so long as that room was occupied for legislation, boasted it greater talents and eloquence;" . . . "Fillmore, the Vice-President, occupied the chair with an amiable dignity." . . . "Shaggy Sam Houston of Texas was here, with coat of queer cut, and, like Bell and Benton, a Senator of the old Southern school who loved the Union better than any State. And, besides illustrious men who sat here before Taylor's term commenced, were two remarkable accessions, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and Seward, of whom we have spoken. These two, almost alone in Congress in these years, spoke with the full forecast of coming years upon the slavery problem,—ably and courageously, too, and without the customary taunts." . . .

"Here, too, in the chamber of oratory, was seen for the last time, after the lapse of many years, that immortal triumvirate, imperial in peace, 'sometimes in opposition, sometimes in conjunction, almost always in rivalry,' whose influence on public affairs while they lived was greater than that of any other three men of their times, and who, notwithstanding, failed each in attaining the public honor he had deepest at heart." (Volume V., pp. 160, 161.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It may be truly said, therefore, that during the first half of this century the Senate played by far the most conspicuous and elevating and perhaps also the most important part in our public life. It is enough to give a clear idea of this wonderful body of men to call the roll of the Senate in 1849. Then, besides Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Houston, Chase and Seward, there were there among others, in a body of only sixty members, Hannibal Hamlin, John P. Hale, Thomas Corwin, Jefferson Davis, Stephen A. Douglas, Lewis Cass, Henry S. Foote, John Bell, Thomas H. Benton, W. L. Dayton, John Davis, Samuel S. Phelps, Jas. M. Mason, W. P. Mangum, Arthur P. Butler, J. M. Berrien, W. R. King and David L. Yulee.

That the Senate has greatly deteriorated is a commonplace remark —a matter of universal knowledge—but how greatly it has deteriorated can be shown in no other way so forcibly as by a comparison of its members in 1849 and its members in 1893. In 1849 every man of ordinary intelligence in any part of the United States knew not only by name such Senators as Clay, Webster, Douglas, Calhoun and Seward, but men everywhere had a clear idea of the individual characteristics of these men, and they discussed their utterances in every neighborhood. Suppose in the same way we call the roll of the Senate to-day to see how many of the eighty-eight names—even in our day of the greater development of the newspapers—are familiar to the mass of men in every part of the Union. In such a list we might put down Senator Morrill of Vermont, Senator Sherman of Ohio, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, Senator Morgan of Alabama, Senator Hawley of Connecticut. What names besides these, unless they be the names of one or two conspicuous oddities, have even a familiar sound to the people of the whole country? Who, in fact, can say from what State in the Union half the Senators come, by reading their names?

To secure as fair a contemporaneous opinion of the present Senate as possible, I have solicited the coöperation of six men of most excellent judgment, some of whom are Democrats and some Republicans, some of whom have a personal acquaintance with most of the Senators and have opportunity to know them close at hand, and some of whom have an equally good opportunity to judge of their characteristics from a distance. Each of these six men has made out a list of the members of the present Senate who would properly fall under the five following classifications: (1) Senators of the old type who most nearly represent the true theory and traditions of the Senate, of which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

class Senator Morrill of Vermont and Senator Sherman of Ohio are perhaps two of the best examples; (2) Senators who are professional politicians, and owe their elevation to political manipulation; (3) Senators who have reached their present eminence mainly, if not entirely, by reason of their wealth; (4) Accidental Senators and oddities; (5) Old fogy Senators.

These six lists of course differ, but the following are the Senators that five of these six special students of our public life have placed in each group; that is to say, the Senators whose names are put in each classification have been so classified by five out of six fair-minded men of good judgment and of good opportunities to know them.

(1) The Senators of the old theory and traditions of the Senate include Mr. Aldrich, of Rhode Island; Mr. Allison, of Iowa; Mr. Gray, of Delaware; Mr. Hawley, of Connecticut; Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts; Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts; Mr. Mills, of Texas; Mr. Morrill, of Vermont; Mr. Platt, of Connecticut; Mr. Sherman, of Ohio; Mr. White, of Louisiana; Mr. Lindsay, of Kentucky; Mr. McPherson, of New Jersey; Mr. Vilas, of Wisconsin; Mr. Wilson, of Iowa; Mr. Cullom, of Illinois; Mr. Frye, of Maine; Mr. Palmer, of Illinois; Mr. Proctor, of Vermont.

(2) The professional politicians of the Senate—the men who have procured seats by the methods used by ward politicians, and who hold their seats as the reward of this kind of activity, include the six Senators from New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

(3) The men who have seats in the Senate because of their wealth—men who it is not probable would ever have been elevated to such a position because of their political services or solely because of their intellectual resources, or men whose own commercial interests, or the commercial interests that they represent, have thrust them there—this class includes Mr. Brice, of Ohio; Mr. Camden, of West Virginia; Mr. Jones, of Nevada; Mr. Mitchell, of Wisconsin; Mr. Stewart, of Nevada; Mr. Wolcott, of Colorado.

(4) The class of oddities and accidents—some of them men who have obtained Senatorships solely because of their notoriety in the new States of the Northwest when they were forcibly pulled into the Union, and some who, to everybody's surprise, and sometimes to their own, are the result of a passing political upheaval like that which agitated Kansas a little while ago,—this class includes Mr. Allen, of Nebraska; Mr. Kyle, of South Dakota; Mr. Peffer, of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kansas; Mr. Roach, of North Dakota; Mr. Squire, of Washington; Mr. Martin, of Kansas.

(5) The "old fogies" of the Senate include many men who originally could lay claim to Senatorial fitness, but who have grown old mentally or temperamentally and are now rather hindrances than helps to the nation's progress. This class is naturally large from the Southern States because of the strong and almost pardonable tendency to honor the dignitaries who did conspicuous service a generation ago, many of whom, too, owe their seats to the fact that, but for the salary they receive, it would be difficult for them to earn a living. This class includes Mr. Bate, of Tennessee; Mr. Berry, of Arkansas; Mr. Coke, of Texas; Mr. Colquitt, of Georgia; Mr. George, of Mississippi; Mr. Gordon, of Georgia; Mr. Harris, of Tennessee; Mr. Jones, of Arkansas; Mr. Ransom, of North Carolina; Mr. Vance, of North Carolina; Mr. Hunton, of Virginia.

Nothing could be more striking than the frequency with which Senators in these groups occur by States, a fact which shows conclusively that each State has such Senators as it deserves to have, and that the Senators very accurately represent the level of the present political dignity and character of each State. About the classification of a large number, there was of course no agreement among the men who made these lists; and each set down a long list of unclassifiable "Senators who seem to belong to no logical category—simply commonplace men of no decided characteristics."

It is hard to resist the conclusion that a classification made as this has been made, expresses the best contemporaneous judgment of the members of the present Senate. That, as a whole, it is a commonplace body in comparison with the Senate of any preceding time cannot be denied—commonplace in ability, courage, and dignity. Due allowance, of course, must be made for misjudgment in every comparison of a contemporaneous body with a body in the past whose real greatness may have been magnified by its distance from us. But after such allowance has been made, the general judgment will not be essentially changed. Allowance in such a comparison must be made, too, for the difference of the times. In 1850 and during the following period, as during the period before, great principles were discussed in the Senate; the conflict over slavery brought forward and developed the strongest men. If the present Senate be commonplace, it may be said that the present time also is commonplace.

But studies of the seamy side of Senatorial life will not modify the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

essential features of this comparison. The journal of the rheumatic Senator William Maclay, kept during the first session of the Senate, and Benton's "Thirty Years' View," show some of our old Senatorial heroes in undress and give glimpses of many commonplace men, of long stretches of dulness, of bargains and of compromises, of dilatory tactics and of lapses from dignity. Even in 1851 the Senate was sometimes called a "bear-garden." But above all these stand out the really colossal proportions of the Senate of the old time; and if the Republic had no other claim on the memory of posterity, the period of our politics from Washington to Lincoln would forever be memorable by reason of the eloquence and breadth of some of the Senatorial debates.

The decline of the Senate began after the great struggle which brought on the War, after the great work of reconstruction had ceased to move the public mind, and when the further development of the spoils system in politics and the inroads of the commercial spirit were so great as finally to lead to that dramatic demonstration of the long distance we had travelled from the old conception of Senatorial dignity, when the two Senators from New York resigned their seats because of a controversy with the President over an appointment to office! This was the decisive key-note of the period of decline; for this was conspicuous proof that the Senate had come down to the common level of contemporaneous political methods.

Much curious and humorous, but some sad, evidence of the present dominance of the tone and temper of commerce is given in the little biographical sketches of the Senators, which are published in the "Congressional Directory" of the present Congress—sketches that are either written by the Senators themselves or written at their dictation and approved by them. It is noteworthy in how many of these brief biographies, purely commercial achievements are thought worthy to have mention. Of one Senator, for instance, it is written: "Engaged in business and was very successful; subsequently engaged in banking, milling, mining and the steamship business, in which he has been engaged during the past twenty-three years." Another makes mention of the fact that he "was clerk in a wholesale house until 1847, when he went to Chicago and opened a lumber-yard, being interested in saw-mills." Another records the fact that he "is a manufacturer of patent and enamelled leather," . . . "and conducts the largest business of the kind in the country." Mr. Quay has thought it worth while to record the fact that, in the Republican

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Convention of 1892, he "voted against the renomination of Benjamin Harrison." Mention is made by a very large number of the Senators of their services as members of Campaign Committees, which shows in a striking way the close connection of this kind of service with their present positions—shows, too, the association in their minds of this kind of political activity with public service of a more dignified nature. "Was a member of the Republican State Central Committee"; "was a delegate to the Republican National Convention"; "was elected Chairman of the Democratic State Committee in 1887 and has been re-elected every year since"—so run these biographies. "Was selected to represent Ohio"—so runs the story of Senator Brice's career—"on the National Democratic Committee and was made Chairman of the Campaign Committee for the ensuing national campaign. On the death of William H. Barnum, he was unanimously elected Chairman of the National Committee, in 1889." So also Senator Cameron "was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago in 1868 and at Cincinnati in 1876; was Chairman of the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1880." Senator Irby, too, "was Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee in the campaign of 1890."

There is probably a larger number of members of the present Senate who never filled an elective office directly from the people than in any preceding Senate. To be sure, it does not follow, because a man has been frequently elected to an office by popular vote, that he is, therefore, a proper man for Senator, nor is it a fair inference that a man who springs at once into a Senatorship, without previous political experience, is unfit; but the rule, of course, is that a man who has political training and aptitude for political service such as entitle him to a seat in the Senate, is likely to have filled subordinate positions by popular favor. Senator Teller, from Colorado, so the "Congressional Directory" informs us, "never held office until he was elected to the United States Senate," nor does the "Directory" make mention of any office ever held by Senator Wolcott until his election to the Senate. So, also, of Senator Call, of Florida; so also of Senator Peffer, of Kansas, except that he was once elected to the State Senate where, his biography informs us with interesting minuteness, "he was Chairman of Joint Senatorial Committee." Senator Jones, of Nevada, also seems never to have been in public life until his elevation to the Senate, nor Senator Murphy from New York, except that he served for several terms as Mayor of his city.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is no record, either, that Senator Brice ever held any elective position except Presidential Elector until he was sent to the Senate; so, too, Senator Cameron, of Pennsylvania.

With this decline in *personnel*, what do we see as to the effect on the public business, so far as the Senate administers it? The Senate realized its old ideal as a check on popular folly when it blocked the outrageous attempt to impeach Andrew Johnson, and thus to establish a precedent which would put the executive at the mercy of the legislative branch. In every great crisis since that time it has failed. When the inflation movement swept over the country in 1874, a majority of the Senate, as well as of the House, yielded to it, and it was not the "temperate and respectable body of citizens" of the "Federalist" measure, but the veto of President Grant, which "suspended the blow meditated by the people against themselves." When the silver craze followed four years later, Senate as well as House passed the so-called Bland Law, requiring the Treasury to coin from $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 worth of bullion into dollars, the market value of which at the time was only a little more than ninety cents. President Hayes did his duty by returning the bill with his objections. But, even with this opportunity for a sober second thought, the Senate passed it again, over the veto, by more than a two-thirds vote. Again, in 1890, when the 412½ grains of silver in the standard dollar had depreciated in value far below the level of 1878, the Senate by a great majority declared in favor, not simply of coining $2,000,000 to $4,000,000 worth of bullion into such dollars, but of the unrestricted coinage of any amount which might be dumped into the mints from any part of the world.

For twenty years, the Senate has thus been steadily, and of late rapidly degenerating, and has been certainly no more conservative than the House. In 1874 the Inflation Bill received the support of fifty-four per cent of the Senators recorded, as against fifty-eight per cent of the Representatives; and in 1878 the Bland Act was passed over the President's veto by seventy per cent of the Senators, against seventy-three per cent of the Representatives; in 1880, nearly two-thirds of the Senators, forty-three out of sixty-seven voting, favored free coinage, while in the House a motion by Mr. Bland to the same effect was rejected by the good majority of 140 nays to 116 ayes.

At least one curious phase of the Senate filibustering in the extra session of 1893, is its demonstration of the power of the minority to tyrannize. The text-books are pregnant with solemn warnings con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cerning "the tyranny of the majority." Madison, in urging the long term for Senators, enlarged on this danger. Jefferson considers it exhaustively. Story, De Tocqueville, Bryce and others devote chapters to the consideration of adequate safeguards. The idea of a "tyranny of the minority" seems never to have occurred to these writers. In 1841, when Clay led in the attempt to discipline an obstructive minority during the debate on the Fiscal Bank bill, that minority was equipped with a defence of which the minority of 1893 seems unhappily destitute. In some other respects, the conditions were curiously similar. Says Benton, in quoting Clay's speech—

"He [Mr. Clay] could not help regarding the opposition to this measure as one eminently calculated to delay the public business, with no other object that he could see than that of protracting to the last moment the measures for which this session had been expressly called to give to the people. This too was at a time when the whole country was crying out in an agony of distress for relief." . . . "The truth is that the minority here control the action of the Senate, and cause all the delay of the public business. They obstruct the majority in the despatch of all business of importance to the country, and particularly those measures which the majority is bound to give to the country without further delay."

These words might well have been uttered in the Senate within the last few weeks. Not so Calhoun's rejoinder. Benton reports Calhoun as saying—

"He would tell the Senator that the minority had rights under the Constitution which they meant to exercise, and let the Senator try when he pleased to abridge those rights, he would find it no easy job. When had that (our) side of the Senate ever sought to protract discussion unnecessarily? (Cries of Never! Never!) Where was there a body that had less abused its privileges? . . . There never had been a body in this or any other country, in which, for such a length of time, so much dignity and decorum of debate had been maintained. It was remarkable for the fact, the range of discussion was less discursive than in any other similar body known. Speeches were uniformly confined to the subject under debate."

The truth of the matter is that at every period in our history we have had the kind of Senate that we deserved to have. When politics was a more dignified profession, we had the best men in the nation in the Senate. When it was pugnacious, we had great fighters in the Senate. Now that it has become in many parts of the Union an ignoble profession, we have a larger proportion of commonplace men and an element of positively ignoble men—men whom it is a shame to honor. It were idle to blame Senators themselves for the change, since it is the people that are to blame.

We put politics on a lower level than our fathers put it. With

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them it was easily the noblest of the professions. Now it is neglected. The law has suffered in the same way perhaps but not to the same degree. The profession of medicine on the contrary has risen higher in our esteem. Industry—the thing we call business—has constantly claimed the life and labor of a higher grade of men. The building of railroads, the development of our great material interests, money-getting in its many forms and the accomplishment of great practical undertakings have attracted the same order of talent that politics formerly attracted. We are not willing to confess it, but we regard politics as a kind of service that we employ men to do who have an aptitude for inducing us to employ them, or men of another class who can afford to live on small salaries. Why should we concern ourselves about it? No better evidence of this truth could be asked than the fact that the two great commercial and manufacturing commonwealths of New York and Pennsylvania, where great business activity centres and where politics, too, has become a business pure and simple, though one is Democratic and the other Republican, are both represented by the same low class of Senators. The people, during their indignation that now finds expression in the newspapers may, therefore, profitably ponder on Mr. Woodrow Wilson's description of the Senate—

> "The Senate is in fact, of course, nothing more than a part, though a considerable part, of the public service; and if the general conditions of that service be such as to starve statesmen and foster demagogues, the Senate itself will be full of the latter kind, simply because there are no others available. There cannot be a separate breed of public men reared specially for the Senate. . . . Thus the Senate, though it may not be as good as could be wished, is as good as it can be under the circumstances. It contains the most perfect product of our politics, whatever that product may be."

Since the cause of the Senate's decline is clearly the decline of the political spirit of the people, the Senate will regain its dignity and its usefulness in proportion to the rise in the political spirit of the people. There is no mechanical device whereby the lost dignity can be restored. The election of Senators directly or in effect by popular vote, methods that have been much discussed, would hardly improve the Senate; for are the Governors of the States abler or more dignified men than the Senators? The organization of the Senate and even the method of the election of Senators vindicate the wisdom of the fathers: its present *personnel* simply marks the decline of politics as one of the noble professions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW MORAL DRIFT IN FRENCH LITERATURE.

THE Editor of THE FORUM asks me to record for his readers my opinion of the moral evolution visible at this moment in the literature of my country—an evolution with which he is good enough to hint that I am intimately concerned. Perhaps such an intimacy is not the condition best fitting one to be a good judge. An artist has been often compared to a workman who weaves a tapestry from the back, without being able to appreciate its coloring and design. In the same way, I should feel myself wholly incapable of meeting such a request, if the response needed to be formulated in a very close and categoric manner. But with a problem so complex as that of the drift of a literary epoch, it is always admissible to offer, in default of a conclusion, a few notes susceptible, if not of solving the problem, at least of throwing light upon it. Notes of this character the reader will find here. If they inspire curiosity to know certain French authors better and to appreciate certain French works more equitably, I shall not feel that my pains are wasted.

First of all, does this moral evolution in our literature exist? And if it exists, what are its depth and scope? That it does exist, the facts prove. To cite definite examples, it is indisputable that between the novels published in France in about 1880 and the novels published in 1893, the difference is considerable. The first affected to neglect absolutely the aggregation of phenomena constituting spiritual life. They were concerned above all in displaying the necessities of man's organism and surroundings. They ruled out systematically all the problems of conscience, as they ruled out all exceptional character. They proposed to paint manners, and they succeeded marvellously; that is to say, to paint average life in its everyday manifestations. Their object, to use the formula which serves as the motto for a fine novel of M. Guy de Maupassant, was "the humble truth"; and this truth they incarnated in personages humble like itself, destitute generally of the power of resisting temptation, and incapable of effort. Effort! This exactly is the habitual theme of most of the novels of the new order, which apply themselves, in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diametrical opposition to their predecessors, to depicting cases of conscience—exceptional situations, traits rare and subtle, complex personalities; in a word, precisely that moral life which seemed forever exiled from romantic literature.

The same thing happens in poetry which, formerly realistic sometimes to the point of brutality, tends to-day to become idealistic, even to symbolism. Fifteen years ago, its ambition was, in picturesqueness and execution, to rival painting. To-day, it models itself on music. It is preoccupied with effects of mystery, of shadow, of the intangible. Criticism also, from being positivistic and wholly documentary, has become again philosophic and moral. It no longer contents itself with stating and explaining. It seeks to judge. And thus the theatre, which seemed for the moment to stand aloof from this common movement, now tends also to conform to it. Admiration of Ibsen and the Norwegian drama is the evident symptom.

These diverse literary manifestations, which I have not illustrated by any particular names—though the enlightened reader will at once supply them—might not have any significance for the future and might constitute only facts of rhetoric. It happens often that one generation having exhausted one form of art, the next generation espouses the contrary form, out of mere virtuosity. This was seen, for example, in France in about 1840, when, after the triumph of romanticism, the writers of the "good-sense school," so-called, with M. Ponsard and M. Augier at the head, attempted to restore classic verse, formal tragedy, and middle-class comedy. All the effects of lyricism having been produced, they evidently desired, and they hoped, to produce other effects by adopting an æsthetic code absolutely opposed to that of their predecessors. For a moment, public opinion was as if unanimous in proclaiming the triumph of this attempt which, in spite of the success of "Lucrèce" and "L'Aventurière," found that it had no real importance in the history of the century. It responded to no profound necessity.

It does not seem that the moral movement traceable in the French literature of to-day should be similarly considered, nor that it is exclusively professional. It is important to remember that it accompanies a great practical impulse, which, although restrained, is none the less significant. While romance, poetry, the theatre and criticism are engaged more and more with moral questions, the symptoms of a veritable religious renascence are discernible among the young. True, the group of the so-called "Neo-Christians" is not very numer-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ous. Nevertheless, it exists. And to anybody who knew the youth of Paris of twenty years ago, the single fact of its existence, affirmed and proclaimed, reveals a process of transformation too striking not to be worth the trouble of seeking at least its genesis. Nature advances by leaps no more in the world of spirit than in the world of matter; and for my part, it seems to me that this moral crisis is the direct and inevitable upshot of a general spiritual advance in our country during the last fifty years—notwithstanding that it may appear, on the contrary, a reaction. But in literature, as in politics, do we not often achieve an end different from our original desire?

M. J.-J. Weiss, one of the most acute critics of the last generation, was the man who first celebrated the advent of the Second Empire as an important date in the history of French manners. In politics, first of all, that advent meant the triumph of democracy under one of the forms it has most often assumed among Latin races, and the one most conformable to the antique Roman tradition: Cæsarism. Now, whether it be Cæsarism or not, democracy rests always on the same principle—equality, which has for its own immediate consequence an aggravation of the struggle for life. To say that democracy triumphed in 1852 is to say also that the cult of material interest began to predominate from that epoch with singular intensity. This positivism of manners was also, through the whole *régime*, the habitual theme of the adversaries of power. That it did not vanish with that *régime* was because its roots had struck too deep; and indeed positivism of ideas had triumphed at the same time through science. At that date, 1850, the principal results of the experimental method were known. This transformation was almost overwhelming, by its rapidity in the world of metaphysics and in the industrial world, and it extended almost as quickly in the world of literature. The traits which mark the literature of that epoch are in direct correlation with this double metamorphosis. Democracy and science fraternized at every step. Manners became positivistic at the same time and for nearly the same reasons.

Now, what was the great impulse that the dramatic art of that epoch set in motion? It was no longer passion, as in 1830; it was no longer intellect, as in 1840; it was money. Money is the motive of Emile Augier's "Lionnes Pauvres," as of Barrière's "Faux Bons Hommes," as of Alexandre Dumas the younger's "Demi-monde" and "Question d'Argent." What energy of the wit predominates in the novels of that epoch? It is no longer the eloquence of passion,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as with George Sand, or high social and aristocratic philosophy, as with Balzac. It is the exact, searching and scientific analysis of sensation. The masterpiece of that epoch, Flaubert's "Madame Bovary," extorted from Sainte-Beuve the cry, "Anatomists and physiologists, I unearth you everywhere!" And it was really almost a veritable surgeon's dissecting-table that the great novelist thus drew, with a mastery which made his book a revelation. This same Sainte-Beuve, renouncing the mystic subtleties of his first manner, inaugurated in his "Lundis" a criticism void of doctrine, similarly anatomic, which he defined as "a natural history of the wits."

M. Ernest Renan attempted on his part a natural history of religions, while M. Leconte de Lisle and Charles Baudelaire created in poetry a new species—the first by renewing the vision of nature and of man through the medium of the latest zoölogy and philology; the second by applying surgical processes to the study of his intimate miseries in, as it were, an implacably minute and courageous vivisection. Finally, M. Taine, the most powerful mind of that epoch, the most capable of strong generalizations, defined literature as "a living psychology," and gave it science as its supreme end. "Science is approaching," he cried, prophetically, "and is approached by man." He might have said that she had taken entire possession of him.

With these ideas and with this method, the young people who began to write in France before 1870 took up their literary work. They inherited from those masters the religion of science and of scientific experiment, pushed even to idolatry. The most typical among them, whose work will live in years to come as the monument of an astonishing genius—M. Emile Zola—manifested more than anybody else this religion, as he has more than anybody else practised this method. This is the true significance of what has been called the "naturalistic movement," but which might more exactly have been called the "positivist movement." To reduce the literature of imagination to the rigor of an observation or even of a scientific contribution—such was the programme of this school. Its rigor explains why the artists of the group do not recoil before any audacities of the most flagrant realism. The world has been very unjust in not recognizing in the author of the "Rougon-Macquarts" the profound sincerity of a man of conviction, who may have been imperfectly understood by certain readers, but who has been guided always by his conscience. This programme explains also how this school was obliged, if one may so express it, to succumb by its own triumph,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or rather to become transmuted into its opposite. It had chosen observation as its unique end and as its method in the art of writing; but a moment was bound to arrive, and it did arrive, when it was seen that this word "observation" possessed a double sense, because observation itself may have a double object. Naturalistic literature limited its field of documentation to external man, his sensations, his social habitudes. It neglected the inner world of ideas and sentiments. Yet this world exists, as legitimately as the other. The complexities of a heart at war with itself, the distresses of a mind in search of truth, the joys and the remorse of a will which forces itself to its duty, or which rejects duty—are not these positive facts, and facts which, on this account, have the right to be registered? Is the observation which neglects them complete? It was thus that beside physiological realism, if one may so term it, another sort of realism manifested itself, which we may call psychological.

It became evident, moreover, by means of the novel of analysis; and in examining from this point of view the entire works of certain writers, one can trace easily the progress of the evolution. In no case has it been more marked than in that of the favorite pupil of Gustave Flaubert, the laborious and unhappy Guy de Maupassant. The reader who compares the first books of this author, "Une Vie," for example, and "Bel Ami," with the later ones, "Pierre et Jean," "Fort Comme la Mort," and "Notre Cœur," will place his finger on the transformation of which I speak. To the dissection of sensation succeeds, little by little, the dissection of sentiment. Instead of painting simply instincts, the artist seeks to define traits. In a word, he perceives dimly this domain of the life of the soul, of which he seemed ignorant, of which he was ignorant, at the period of his first attempts. He has not ceased to be a positivist, and his observation still limits itself to stating facts in the manner of a scientist who classifies phenomena without interpreting them. But it is already clear that he suffers from this attitude—and of this those who knew that great writer personally were well aware. During the year which preceded the last crisis of his malady, he was almost wholly absorbed with religious questions. No doubt whatever that if he had lived his fine talent would have been definitively modified in this sense, of spiritual and perhaps Christian life, a sense altogether unanticipated by the admirers of his first writings.

The truth is, there is a logic which overpowers all preconceptions in the relation of reality and human intelligence. The literature of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scientific observation was constrained to unfold into a psychological literature. It was impossible that this last should not encounter on its side the problems of moral life. In analyzing human sentiments from within instead of from without, we plunge by necessity into the mysteries of moral health and disease. We are forced to acknowledge that there are passions which destroy the soul, others that exalt it; that certain acts leave after them a trace of shadow, others a trace of light; that there are, in fine, laws of the inner life, as there are laws of physical life, and that these laws all presuppose in us the notion of liberty and responsibility. In other words, the problem of sin appears, and, once apparent, may be no longer neglected. Abandoned to itself and in the simple process of its normal development, contemporary French literature would inevitably have followed this route, and we should have witnessed, sooner or later, a renewal of moral preoccupations analogous to that visible to-day.

Two causes arose to precipitate it, which it is important clearly to determine in order to explain that which may have appeared a little artificial and which still deeply affects this movement. The first of these two causes was an influence derived from foreign literature. Frenchmen are often reproached with being ignorant of what goes on outside Paris; and this reproach, thus formulated, is very unjust. It would be more exact to say that they study the great books published outside of their own country, only at intervals. During one whole period, for example, they remained indifferent to the magnificent poetic movement in England which glittered with the names of Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne and Rossetti. Suddenly they discovered this universe of lyricism, and were intoxicated by it. M. Alphonse Daudet, in his "Immortel," finely satirized this sudden rapture when he said that to-day—he spoke of 1888—most young Parisian critics made their *début* with a study of Shelley! Similarly, despite the efforts of Mérimée, Russian literature remained almost unknown in France until the most brilliant of living essayists, M. E. Melchior de Vogüe, revealed to the readers of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" the genius of Count Tolstoi and of Dostoiewsky. Then arose a crisis of enthusiasm—abundantly justified—for "Anna Karenina," "War and Peace," "Crime and Punishment." It was suddenly discovered that the English poets and the Russian novelists were alike artists of a semi-mystical turn, preoccupied before all things with the inner life, and even, like Shelley and Tolstoi, moral reformers with the temperament of apostles. It is no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exaggeration to say that this experience was an illumination for many young writers who were seeking a direction. But every influence of this order has necessarily something factitious about it; and human as Shelley was, cosmopolitan as Tolstoi was, they remained none the less too essentially Anglo-Saxon and Slav to inspire a continuing imitation among the Latins of the end of the nineteenth century.

This is one of those elements of the contemporary French evolution that I have just called artificial. The other, which is more durable because more national, is the present state of the country. It is evident, to those who study impartially the France of to-day, that she is traversing a period of definitive metamorphosis. Political problems on the one hand and social problems on the other have reached a stage of acuteness difficult for those who know French life only on its Parisian and cosmopolitan sides to appreciate. At this moment, among the young people just on the threshold of manhood, there is a sentiment of national duty intense almost to the point of passion, a fervent desire to do strenuous work in the service of their country, a conviction that the agnosticism of science is not adequate to the creation of useful energies, an ardent and sorrowful anguish in religious problems. These are the young people whose intimate perplexities M. Paul Desjardins has explained in pamphlets which have made too much stir not to express a general mood.

It is also this mood which renders probable the duration of the literary evolution concerning which the Editor of THE FORUM has done me the honor to interrogate me. I should have been glad to reply with more precision and more authority. I should have been glad to cite more names and more books. But when a whole literature is under discussion, one fears to be not quite just by quoting one example rather than another. Besides, nothing can replace the actual reading of the books themselves. May these cursory notes at least persuade a few in America that we in France are working with true sincerity and true seriousness, that our efforts date not from yesterday but from a long time ago—and that in particular the novel of manners, like the novel of analysis, has been executed in France with a conscientiousness too frequently overlooked.

PAUL BOURGET.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAMILTON FISH: THE OLD SCHOOL AND THE NEW.

A VERY great change has come over American politics and American society, one may almost say over American institutions, since Hamilton Fish was born. The founders of the republic builded other than they knew; and Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, would hardly recognize in the Congress of 1893 or in the millionaires of Chicago and New York the expected result of their labors. The founders were for the most part elaborate and dignified in manner, and careful, even conservative, in conduct; for although they inaugurated a revolution, they did their work in the spirit of the Girondins rather than of the Jacobins, of Fairfax rather than of Barebones. But revolutions never go backward, and their descendants live in an atmosphere and under a system very different from the atmosphere and the system of 1776. And yet these are the legitimate outcome of that era.

Fish came upon the stage when this transformation had hardly begun; his father was the friend of Washington and the executor of Hamilton, and the son witnessed during his eighty-five years a great succession of changes in national manner and feeling and character, which continued until there was left in all our high political life no other representative of the older style so conspicuous as he. The change is, however, a development as much as a revolution; and it is curious to contemplate in the career and character of a single man the process of this development. For Fish was the link between the race of politicians of colonial times, the manorial lords with powdered wigs and patrician bearing, and the modern type that has arisen since politics has come to be, for so many, simply a business.

Hamilton Fish was a survival. The possessor of large inherited estates and the representative of an almost historic family, he was in reality what so many are incorrectly called—an American aristocrat; not at all one of the money-kings of to-day, not in the least one of the statesmen who have raised themselves from the people by native genius. He was hardly the result of republican institutions, and yet he was American to the core. His father was an officer of the revo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lutionary army, said to have been esteemed by Washington. His picture, given me by Mr. Fish, indicates a man of courtly bearing and refinement but hardly of great force of character or a high order of talent; and although he performed his part in life respectably, he never rose to eminence in the army or in civil affairs. He was of English origin and of good position and family. But it was from his mother that Hamilton Fish inherited distinction. Through her he was a lineal descendant from the last Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant. If he had not sprung from the oldest important family in New York, and represented more absolutely than any other the Knickerbockers, as they have been called since Irving's day, he would hardly have entered public life so early, and might not have risen to the eminence he at last attained.

His birth gave him his opportunities. For the Stuyvesants had been at the head of the colonial aristocracy in New York City for two hundred years, and in the State at large they ante-dated even the Livingstons and Van Rensselaers. The Dutch aristocrats, however, were not as a rule a brilliant body, and the Stuyvesants resembled the class of which they were a type. Between the first governor and his descendant just buried there was hardly a man of more than social distinction among them; they were reputable people, of the same manners and morals as the small gentry of other countries, but no one of the race left his mark on his time or his name in history. Not even the Revolution aroused in their sluggish blood either spirit or energy that enabled them to take a place by the side of Hamilton and Morris and Livingston and Jay. They must have been phlegmatic and dull, Dutch to the core. But, such as they were, there was no one in New York City to contest their social supremacy. They were the greatest landed proprietors on the island; the streets and squares were named after them; the "Bowery" was their estate and St. Mark's church their burial-place. They were not very prolific, so that their properties were not much subdivided, and as the city grew these became more valuable, and their wealth was maintained. They intermarried with the most important colonial families, and, as we have seen, gentlemen of condition of English descent were glad to ally themselves with the Stuyvesants.

Hamilton Fish was born of this parentage eighty-five years ago, on August 3, 1808. He showed more ability than most of his blood, and was especially a favorite with the head of the Stuyvesants

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of that day, Peter, his mother's brother, and a very rich man for his time. Young Fish was graduated from Columbia College and then studied law. At the age of twenty-six he was elected to Congress. His family pushed him, and at that time family influence counted in New York politics. It was nothing against a man to be rich and the descendant of ante-revolutionary stock. He served, however, only one term in Congress and was defeated when he presented himself for reëlection. Next he became Lieutenant-Governor of the State, to fill a vacancy. About this time his uncle Peter Stuyvesant died and bequeathed him a large property in addition to that which his mother had left him. This, with his father's, made three separate fortunes that he inherited, and he became the recognized head, not only of the Stuyvesant family, but of the New York society of the period, which was a very different sort of company from that of the modern millionaires, most of whom were unknown even by name to the descendants of the Dutch and English lords of the manor, or the children of later magnates of revolutionary times. In 1848 he was elected Governor of New York. At that time he was universally regarded as upright and honorable in politics, unstained in character, a man of good judgment and careful conduct in affairs, but in no way striking or brilliant or commanding. In 1851 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he served six years, and he then retired to private life, from which he did not emerge for twelve years longer. He had married into a New Jersey family somewhat like his father's, of social prominence, but without political consequence.

Mrs. Fish was, however, a very important factor in her husband's career. She, like him, was dignified and stately in presence and manner, and they maintained a style of living at that time very unusual in New York. But they were politic when politics required it, and very willing to make themselves popular; Mrs. Fish's assiduous attention to every social duty contributed materially to her husband's advancement. She was, however, much more than a great lady; she was a woman of sagacity and judgment in all the affairs of life, and of rare executive ability. She once lent me her visiting-book that I might find some addresses after I had been out of the country a long while, and it was kept as carefully as a merchant's ledger: which visits had been returned, which were yet to pay, on what days each lady received, where everybody lived—all was noted with the greatest care. Mr. Fish told me that he never took an important step in his life without consulting his wife. He told me

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this when he was describing the most important step he ever took in public affairs—his acceptance of office under General Grant.

In 1869 Grant asked him to enter his Cabinet as Secretary of State, and Fish declined. Grant had already appointed Washburne to the post under pledge that he would immediately resign; and when the pledge was kept, Wilson of Iowa received the offer. He also declined the place; then Grant tendered it to Fish. But Fish had hoped to be made Minister to England and was averse to re-entering home politics, though he had been an ardent supporter of the Government during the Civil War, and was a warm admirer of Grant, having been one of the subscribers of $5,000 each to the $100,000 fund presented to Grant at the close of the War. Grant was very much embarrassed in the formation of his first Cabinet. A. T. Stewart had been found ineligible and his nomination was withdrawn; Wilson, as we have seen, declined to serve; and when Fish followed this example Grant sent Colonel Babcock to New York with a special message, and laid Fish's nomination before the Senate without waiting for his reply. Fish, however, persisted in refusing the proffered honor, and then Babcock gave him the confidential message from the President. It was at this time that Fish consulted his wife; the result is known to the world. He accepted the place and remained for eight years Secretary of State.

Those years formed the culminating period in his career, and will insure him a lasting name in American history. Up to this period, though a reputable statesman, he had accomplished nothing likely to be remembered. Grant often told me that he did not at all appreciate Mr. Fish's powers when he offered him the appointment, and the country certainly did not give him credit for commanding ability. He was a man whom his State was proud of for the purity of his private life, his decorous behavior under all circumstances, and for a careful and discreet conduct in public affairs, tempered by a certain firmness supposed to be derived from his Dutch ancestry. But as Secretary of State he was compelled to deal with the most delicate and momentous questions, especially those affecting our relations with England after the Civil War and the famous and then unsettled "Alabama Claims." He came into office just before the rejection by the Senate of a treaty which assumed to settle those claims in a manner which the country undoubtedly disapproved, and the British nation was sore at the rejection. Mr. Sumner had made his celebrated speech on the "Indirect Claims," greatly complicating

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the situation, while Motley's first act as Minister to England under Grant transcended his instructions and still further embarrassed the administration. Sumner was not only immensely and deservedly popular with the party that had ended the War, but was the intimate personal friend of Fish, though still more intimate with Motley.

Grant and Fish determined to act diplomatically and do nothing at first to offend the susceptibilities of England; but Sumner and Motley took a different view. Motley had been sent to England at Sumner's request, and he felt that his first gratitude was due to his friend; he deliberately presented his own ideas and those of Sumner to Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, and not those of his government. This made it still more difficult for the administration to deal with England. I am speaking of what I know, for I was Secretary of Legation in London at the time. I was Motley's personal friend and warned him of his mistake, assuring him that Grant would be indignant at his course. He admitted his blunder and promised Mr. Fish and Grant through me that it should not be repeated. But the mischief was done, and the negotiations were removed from his hands into those of Fish himself.

This was the situation when the Secretary of State assumed the personal control. It required the most delicate and diplomatic handling, as well as firmness, caution and judgment at every step. The claims of the United States for reparation were to be maintained, and a proud and powerful people was to be induced to offer not only reparation but apology, before the world. This, too, after the representative of the United States had used words calculated to wound and inflame British pride, while his ally in the United States Senate had affronted every friend that America had retained in England during the Civil War, by his injudicious accusations and rhetorical demands. John Bright, the Duke of Argyll, W. E. Forster, Viscount Halifax, were the most prominent British statesmen who stood up for the North during our struggle, and every one of them was indignant at the denunciations of Sumner; every one of them spoke to me personally on the subject and was hurt and almost alienated.

Nevertheless, Fish was able to appease the British susceptibilities, and in little more than a year to induce Mr. Gladstone to propose a Joint International Commission for settlement of the Alabama Claims. This was brought about at first through the intervention of Sir John Rose, an eminent Canadian statesman, who travelled to and from London and Washington with informal communications be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tween the governments. Verbal and written messages were also sent through me to the President and to Fish from Mr. Gladstone and different members of his Cabinet. General Grant had authorized me specially, when I was sent to England, to make known his personal desire for an amicable settlement, and to do anything in my power to foster a feeling which should make this possible. I told this to Motley, but he instantly desired me to do nothing of the sort, as it would interfere with his arrangements. But he was soon removed, and for a while we had no accredited Minister in London.

It was during this period that the English Commissioners reached Washington, in February, 1871. They numbered several eminent statesmen of both political parties, and our own representation included General Schenck, the new Minister to England, a Judge of the Supreme Court, the Attorney-General, and others of that calibre; but among them all Fish was easily first, not only by virtue of his position as Secretary of State, but in force of character, broadness and firmness of judgment, in knowledge of men and, as events proved, in the ability to handle them. Few more important international commissions have ever been convened, and its members were worthy of their position and their task. But Hamilton Fish's was the controlling mind; the result that was achieved was his work and his aim. The submission by England of the Alabama Claims to an impartial tribunal, the admission of wrong-doing extorted from an imperious state, the restoration of good feeling between two angry nations, the prevention of a terrible war, the introduction of the principle of arbitration into international disputes of so great magnitude—all this was due more to Fish than to any other man, and it was an achievement worthy to be ranked with the proudest triumphs of diplomacy or statesmanship.

But this was not all; the claims were submitted to a Tribunal at Geneva, and instantly Great Britain declared that she had not intended to include what are known as the "Indirect Claims," that is, the claims for remote or consequential damages, while the American government held that a settlement of those claims was one of the principal objects of the treaty. The situation was more threatening than ever, for if Great Britain refused to submit to adjudication, America would maintain that she violated the treaty, and there could be no doubt that war would follow. The feeling in London and all over England was intense, and again I am able to testify of personal knowledge. Americans at home, outside official circles, probably

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never knew how imminent the danger was of hostile results. But Fish, backed by Grant, was firm; they never dreamed of receding from the position the nation had assumed, and yet were willing to allow England every avenue of escape from her dilemma. The British Cabinet was shaking in its political shoes. Though anxious to preserve the treaty and to keep faith with America, it was hard-pressed by its Parliamentary enemies and was accused of sacrificing the national honor. Its existence as a government was at stake. Any number of expedients were suggested and some were tried; a supplementary treaty was offered, but in vain, till at last, when the whole affair seemed on the verge of explosion, somebody proposed that the arbitrators should pronounce on the claims of their own motion, without waiting for their submission by England. The suggestion was acted on, and the arbitrators announced their decision that the Indirect Claims did not constitute a subject for the consideration of an international Tribunal. Thus both parties were appeased; England did not submit the claims, as she had declared she would not, and America procured a decision from the Tribunal which she had insisted was her right. The device was adroit and politic in the last degree.

After this, the arbitration went on; the award was made and paid, and to-day the English are more glad of the conclusion than we. Their commerce is safe from such attacks as destroyed our own during the Civil War, and they have regained the friendship of the United States. When General Grant visited England five years later he was everywhere hailed as the apostle of arbitration, the soldier who had preferred peace to war, and the Geneva settlement was declared to be his greatest claim upon the esteem and admiration of Englishmen. And this, I repeat, was the work of Hamilton Fish more than of any other. Grant sanctioned and advised it, the able men associated with Fish were indispensable to the result, but he was the chief director and actor, and to him belongs the chief honor. It placed him among the foremost statesmen of his time, and was a service to his country and to civilization that can never be forgotten.

His other exploits in the State Department were less brilliant; he put aside the Cuban question until the British trouble was settled, because he felt that he could not deal with the two great complications simultaneously; his treatment of the "Virginius" affair was hardly so successful as it might otherwise have been, and he possibly let slip an opportunity to purchase Cuba, or delayed until it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was too late; but it was impossible to dally with Spain while he had England on his hands, and the English question was ten times more imminent. It was good statesmanship to handle one such matter at a time, and to take up the most important first.

The Santo Domingo business, too, came up before the English dispute was terminated. In this, Sumner was very unwise and very bitter. When he found another policy than his own had been adopted by Grant and Fish in English affairs, he revenged himself by opposing the acquisition of Santo Domingo, which at first he had been disposed to favor. He prevented the result which the administration desired, and quarrelled personally with Grant and Fish, and in the *mêlée* Motley got hurt. He had, we have seen, followed Sumner's instructions instead of those of his superiors, and afterward attempted to undo his fault; but Grant and Fish were both unforgiving by nature, and when Sumner exasperated Grant, Motley fell. Grant indeed had desired to remove him instantly when he disobeyed his instructions, but Fish was more politic and thought it unwise to take such a step in the first months of a new administration. So the blow was delayed. It was finally dealt by Grant's orders, and severed the intimacy of many years between Fish and Sumner.

Fish and Grant were thereafter warm personal as well as political friends. Indeed, I think that of all Grant's political associates he had a warmer feeling for Fish than for any other. They were so long allied, they fought so many political battles together, that the feeling of *camaraderie* between them was very decided. Fish, too, was always loyal to his chief, although there were some strong points of contrast between them. Grant was the son of the people, and had by nature few aristocratic tastes or sympathies; he disliked forms, and though he complied with them when his position demanded, he was always glad to escape from their trammels. Fish was born among them, and ceremony came so naturally and easily to him that even when he conformed to elaborate rules he seemed to be acting without regard to them. His courtesy, however, concealed great determination, and he could be as grim as Grant himself when it was necessary. He was masterful, forceful, though until occasion arose there was no indication of this.

In affairs, he was imperious, if not rugged, and insisted on his own way, unless with admitted superiors, and of these he had none in America but Grant. He quarrelled with many of his subordinates who held high foreign appointments; with Motley, though I do not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

see how he could have avoided this and carried out his own policy; with Jay at Vienna and Webb at Rio de Janeiro; he differed with Sickles at Madrid and with Van Buren in Japan. All of these except Motley resigned because of their relations with Fish, and Motley was removed. He had difficulties with several of the ministers accredited to the administration of which he was a member; with Magalhaens, from Brazil, with Freire, from Peru, and Catacazy, from Russia. This last dispute almost provoked a rupture with Russia, for the Emperor's son declined to dine with the President unless Catacazy could accompany him, and when this was refused, the Czar resented the decision. In all such matters Grant deferred to the opinion of Fish, and even refused to return the visit of the son of the Queen of England because Fish so advised.

Fish indeed was pugnacious though polite; irascible, unrelenting, obstinate, all under his courtly manner. His politeness always impressed me as proceeding from a sense of what was due to himself and his own position, quite as much as from amiability or even affability to others. Yet he could be very genial when he chose. He was a delightful dinner-companion, especially in small and intimate parties at his own table. There was a time in the first year of Grant's Presidency when I used to see him often in this way: he wanted to know much about England, where I had just passed a few months officially, and he wanted to impress certain views on Grant and thought I could aid him, so he invited me very often, and talked on certain subjects very intimately; and I never enjoyed a dinner more in my life than those at this period with him; most of all when I met no one but himself, and possibly Mrs. Fish. He was a perfect *raconteur* as well as a *bon vivant*, and when the old Madeira came on he was full of recollections of important people and events; remembered details of character and conversation, judged men keenly and sometimes sharply, and was not without a certain wit or more often humor of his own. I may be allowed to say that Mrs. Fish always bore more than an appreciative part on these occasions.

They were a stately pair; at the head then of Washington society, entertaining constantly and liberally, and Mrs. Fish, as of old, attending scrupulously to every social task—never allowing a visit to go unreturned, although she received thousands, and once got out of her carriage to find her democratic caller at the wash-tub, for everybody in Washington can call on the wife of a Cabinet officer. Mrs. Fish was very diplomatic in political society. She advised Mrs.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grant to receive the wife of a foreign minister who had lived with her husband before marriage, holding that international complications should not be allowed to arise from social causes; she returned the visits of the colored wife of the Haytian envoy; and men and women of every shade of politics or degree of importance were made to feel in her drawing-room that they were visiting the wife of a Secretary of State under a democratic form of government.

If pride of birth and station existed, it never interfered with Fish's loyalty to American sentiment or his acceptance of American doctrine. His aristocratic feeling was personal, not political. The Governor, as New Yorkers always liked to call him, never uttered a word unfavorable to democracy in his life; he loved and defended the institutions of his country and neither criticised their legitimate results nor attempted to evade them. He served under Grant as loyally as if both had been born to their relative stations, and Mrs. Fish appeared second at Mrs. Grant's receptions, when everywhere else she would have been first; accepting the position with that high-bred humility with which a duchess defers to a queen. When Grant left the White House, he and Mrs. Grant were the guests of the former Secretary of State for a fortnight; when Grant was dying, he asked that his Memoirs should be submitted to Hamilton Fish before publication, and after the General's death the venerable statesman lost no opportunity to manifest his devotion to the memory of his chief and friend.

There is no one left of exactly the same calibre and stamp; there are of course others as capable in affairs or as distinguished in behavior, and one or two Americans as long descended; but no one remains who combines in an equal degree unsullied character and the record of great services with courtly manner and distinguished family, and yet completely accepts the idea of democracy and conforms to the requirements of a republican society. If he was like one transplanted from a different soil, and bore traces of a stock unlike the race among which he lived, it must be admitted that he thrived in the exotic atmosphere, and threw a grace and a dignity about democracy which it is pleasant to perceive that democracy does not necessarily destroy. Indeed, if he left no other legacy to the country, this alone would make it worth while for him to have lived. I remember hearing one of his family say that Mr. Fish considered it his duty to live in America. He might have found in some respects more congenial associations abroad, and have adopted the fashion of those wealthy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

compatriots who desert the land from which their fortune and their consequence are alike derived, for the sake of access to societies of longer established elegance and possibly of greater general refinement. But Mr. Fish thought that the advantages his birth and station gave him and which the institutions of his country preserved to him imposed a corresponding obligation.

His example and his life were a positive benefit to the important circles in which he lived; for they showed that high character is not inconsistent with an intimate acquaintance with republican politics, that a man may go through almost the entire range of state and national office, be Congressman, Governor, Senator and Secretary of State, and never once be accused of personal dishonor or political corruption. In social matters—perhaps not less important, because in America everyone holds himself eligible to the highest social distinction, and not everyone cares for political consequence—he proved that the finest manner and the best breeding, even the distinctions of birth and fortune, are compatible with a preference for democratic forms of government, and a sincere belief in the superior advantages of republicanism. This belief was heightened in his case, I verily believe, by his intimate acquaintance with Grant, and his appreciation not only of the ability of his chief but of the genuine simplicity and natural refinement of that blossom of democracy. The descendant of colonial aristocrats and the representative man of the modern people had much in common between them.

ADAM BADEAU.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEGRO OUTRAGE NO EXCUSE FOR LYNCHING.

I HAVE been requested by the Editor of THE FORUM to prepare a plain and candid paper, written from the standpoint of a Southern thinker and observer, touching the lynching of negroes and the outrages which have occasioned it.

A fundamental truth which certainly exists, and which ought to be recognized by all men everywhere, is that, according to right reason and just views of civilization, government and morals, provocation has nothing whatever to do with the right or wrong of lynching negroes. No kind or degree of provocation will justify or even mitigate it. Lynching is barbaric, anarchic and wrong *per se*. It belongs to the darker and deeper of the two classes of criminal conduct into which human wickedness has been divided; it is not merely *malum prohibitum*, it is *malum in se*. In this respect it is precisely on a level with rape and murder, the two crimes which have been and still are the most apt to provoke it.

The brief and bloody code of lynch-law, translated into plain language, reads thus: "Let past crime be met with present crime in order that future crime may be prevented." Its principle is to check crime by the commission of crime. Can any civilization stand this? Can any organized society tolerate it and live? Can any enlightened moralist approve it? The true cause of lynching is not the provocation itself, but the failure to discern clearly and realize vividly the fundamental truth which I am now urging, namely, that provocation is utterly irrelevant, either as justification or as mitigation. Were this great truth generally accepted, there would be no public opinion behind the lynchers to afford them moral support or encourage them with the hope of impunity. Indeed, there would be no lynchers, for bad men do not lynch others on account of their crimes, and good men will not knowingly render themselves morally criminal as a means of putting down or keeping down other criminals. When a thing is gravely wrong in itself, good men will not engage in it if they see it in its true light. They will shun and avoid it, irrespective of whether it would prove effectual or not. Were it abso-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lutely certain that rape might be stopped by a system of retaliation between the races, retorting rape for rape, the use of such means would be abhorrent. Why is it not also abhorrent to retaliate with murder? Chiefly for the reason that by a misconception of the part played by provocation, the killing of the ravisher is regarded by many as only a technical legal murder, and not as a moral murder at all. There is a widespread opinion among good and fairly sensible people that no guilt whatever is involved in such a killing, except an artificial guilt manufactured by the law. In some communities a popular vote would doubtless determine the law to be wrong and the lynching conscientiously right. The prevalence of this opinion is the mainstay and support of mob massacre. There is every reason to believe that mobs are generally actuated by a most intense feeling of right and justice, and it is sympathy with and participation in this feeling by the neighboring population which screens the lynchers not only from punishment but in most cases from accusation and trial.

If we are to have law at all and maintain it, we must recognize the ethical as well as the legal duty of keeping on the inside of it at all times and under all circumstances, absolutely and without exception. Those who commit rape or murder put themselves outside of law, and follow their own will instead of abiding by the will of society as expressed in the ordinances of government. Those who lynch these criminals do precisely the same thing; they put themselves outside of law, and follow their own will instead of abiding by the will of society as expressed in the ordinances of government. Breaches of law are to be dealt with on the inside of law and not on the outside. To punish anyone wrongfully for acting wrong is contradictory and absurd. No human being who is under organized government has any right, nor can he have any, to overstep the law for any purpose whatsoever. He cannot do it for the defence of his own life or honor, or for the defence of those who are nearest and dearest to him, whatever may be their age, sex or condition. That which the law permits to be done in self-defence or in defence of others, may be done, and that only. What the law forbids to be done for defensive objects can no more be done for those objects than for any other. As justification of unlawful actions, an aggressive object counts for as much as a defensive one. For members of society to set up and act upon rules of so-called right in opposition to the binding laws of society, is wrong, always has been wrong, and always will be. This is the true and only sound doctrine concerning lynch-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing or anything else. He who fails to discern this with a clear vision, does not behold the majesty and the divinity of law.

Lynching and provocation stand each upon its own footing. The second is no excuse for the first, and the first is no allowable remedy for the second. Provocation ought to cease whether lynching ceases or not; and lynching ought to cease whether provocation ceases or not. Both races should understand this, see it, feel it, teach it and practise it. For the races to criminate and recriminate, in the spirit of childish wrangle and controversy, the one recouping with the grievance of provocation when the other complains of lynching, and the latter recouping with the grievance of lynching when the former complains of provocation, is not only unprofitable but gravely pernicious. It confuses thought, withdraws attention from relevant matter and wastes it on the irrelevant, inflames passion and augments race antagonism and aversion. To be wise, politic and patriotic, both races should, on this momentous subject, think, feel and cooperate from the standpoint of one and the same indivisible political society, responsible as such to God and to the civilized world for an abnormal prevalence of both evils, and charged with the absolute and unshunnable duty of uprooting each of them as far as possible and as soon as possible.

L. E. Bleckley.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LAST HOLD OF THE SOUTHERN BULLY.

I.

COMPETENT observers in almost every part of the South agree that crimes against white women by Negroes are becoming very much more frequent, that more frequent becomes the lynching of Negroes, and that this method of dealing with crime is tolerated and hence approved in an increasing number of communities. The race-clash, therefore, takes a somewhat new turn, and in this succession of crimes there is a singular conjunction of dangerous forces.

Most of the men who were masters and most who were slaves are dead. The men of each race that are now in active life have not the attitude to each other that their fathers had. There could be no more conclusive or startling evidence of such a change than the frequency of a social crime that was unknown and impossible in slavery, and that was very infrequent as long as the manners and traditions of slavery survived. This somewhat new race-clash which is different from the old political race-clash, brings for the first time a grave social danger. Whatever race-conflicts might come, it had generally been taken for granted that we should be spared this one. For this kind of a crime may light all the inflammable material in the race-relation. To begin with, it is a social crime; and, if so ludicrously slight a social jar as whites and blacks riding in the same railway coach has in the past stirred anger, what shall be expected of this? Nothing else could so arouse all the white man's race-feeling, no other crime or combination of other crimes—not even murder and arson and massacre all together.

Moreover all round about such a point of race-contact, the social structure is exceedingly sensitive. In addition to the defensive attitude that any other civilized society has toward its women there is in the South the tradition of a "knightly" attitude toward them. Whatever part this old-fashioned gallantry may play or may ever have played between individual men and women, the tradition of it is indomitable. The veriest bully feels a sort of sanctity gather about him when he goes forth to defend or to avenge a woman: the race tiger and the romantic tiger both leap to life.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

II.

Now as to the other crime thus provoked—the crime of lynching: since this in turn must be withstood and dealt with by local public sentiment and since it will thrive directly in proportion to the weakness of public sentiment in upholding law, let us see in what condition Southern public sentiment finds itself to deal with an outbreak of lawlessness. Here, too, the presence of both races must be remembered.

The wholesale bestowal of the ballot on the freedman while in all essential respects but one he was yet a slave, prevented the rise of a balanced public sentiment. What was by law a crime came to be regarded as a political duty—the duty of self-defence. Public sentiment in the South was thrown still more out of plumb. There is proof of this in the fact that the old instinct of political leadership spent itself in the task of preventing Negro electoral equality, and it had little energy left for other tasks. Commonplace men whose equipment was an equipment of traditions became the natural public leaders, when no new life and no new thought had play, and rural Southern communities, even just now, have shown that they are the easy victims of such forces as the Farmers' Alliance and "Gideon's Band." It is sad to say that of the many honorable and useful Southern public men, there is not a single one who stands out to-day as a great leader of opinion or as a strong force in our national life. This could never have been said till now since the foundation of the government. Thus ill prepared, this public sentiment must now in the first place face this new social danger, and doubly ill-prepared it is called on to deal calmly and firmly with the spirit of revenge that this era of a new crime arouses. And during this generation of political race-conflict, as the old type of gentleman of the former time has receded into tradition, the qualities that were characteristic of him, growing rank on the lower slopes of life, have produced the bully, the race-bully, the romantic bully; and it is the brute of one race and the bully of the other that unite their forces against civilization, just where public sentiment is weakest.

On the side of the lower race, too, slavery, to speak mildly, did not promote good morals; and it was inevitable, that chastity should at the time of freedom be an almost unknown virtue among the Negroes. Since then, especially in recent years, according to the evidence of the leaders of the race, there has been as rapid an improvement as any wise moralist could expect—for he was not wise

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who expected a sudden change in morals, since morals are habits; and the lifting up of the women has gone on, to their infinite credit, against the double disadvantage of having the dissolute of both races of men to withstand. Now in proportion as chastity has become esteemed among Negroes, they feel the more keenly their former humiliation in morals, and this is a keener feeling, I imagine, than the humiliation of mere servitude. It is not unnatural for the Negro, sensitive to this inherited degradation, to ask, Why deal with the Negro so severely for a social crime against a white woman when similar if by law lesser crimes were, and perhaps are to a degree still, regarded as venial offences when committed by white men against Negro women? But I have said enough to hint at the many-sided dangers in the social relation of the races in the future, now that a new generation has come into activity—a generation one remove from the influence of slavery on the race-relation. Such is the social background of the crime itself that has given a new impulse to the lawless dealing with crime.

III.

How the brute and the bully unite against civilization may be made clearer by a description of a particular town where a Negro was lynched. It is a pleasant county-town of comfortable homes and intelligent and kindly people, and the moral tone of individual conduct—the moral tone of the individuals as distinguished from the moral tone of public sentiment—is exceptionally firm. A school of more than local fame has so long been established that a stock remark to strangers is, "Our town, you know, is quite an educational centre." The older generation in particular have a social grace about them that you recall long afterwards with pleasure, and the people practise their old habit of hospitality. They go about their business, clothed with leisure as with a garment, like men on a perpetual holiday; but life is as easy as it is simple and cheerful, and there are neither very poor people nor very rich people there. They all belong to the churches, with hardly an exception but the keepers of the groggeries, and the most frequent little jars in the social life of the town are caused by the friction of the church-cliques or an argument about theology. Nearly half the population is of blacks, who live chiefly at one end of the town. Most of the younger Negroes are educated in a rudimentary way, many of them are prosperous, many more measured by their standard are fairly well-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to-do, and the rest, half perhaps, lead the more or less wandering and irresponsible life of day-laborers. But they, too, are good-natured and generally law-abiding, in no way different from the usual black population of any Southern town where the whites predominate; and there has never been any serious race-friction. Cases of theft chiefly engage the court, now and then an assault, very rarely a murder.

But one day near the outskirts of the town a young Negro committed a crime against a white woman. The news quickly spread. Parties of men went forth and caught the criminal, for there is hardly a doubt but the captive was the criminal although there was no formal proof of it. In spite of a threat to lynch him, he was brought to the jail by a circuitous route and locked up, and a double guard was placed there. But just before midnight a group of perhaps fifty men, at least the leaders of whom were armed, came to the jail and demanded the prisoner. The guards, willing to do their duty but weak, did not long withstand the determined threats of the mob. The negro was taken out and hanged and shot.

The next morning the people went about their business as usual. But a sort of terror spread among the Negroes, and a desperate suggestion was of course made to the criminally inclined. There was a feeling that a white man would have had a trial, and that the criminal was lynched not only because of the crime but because he was a Negro. The whites said little about the lynching. There was an evident desire not to discuss it. Some said, "No more than he deserved," but more wished that the law had been allowed to take its course. They talked much, however, about the crime, and with a sort of dazed indignation. It stirred the whole community to its depths. The report that was published in the papers was chiefly an expression of this indignation at the Negro, but it was an odd mixture of sensationalism and moral reflections on chastity. In a little while the whole matter seemed to be forgotten.

There is no doubt but the public sentiment in the town passively approved the lynching. No effort was made to discover the lynchers. Overcome by indignation, public sentiment was subdued. The mob that killed the criminal killed civic spirit as well. Yet if a week before the lynching or a week afterward, every man there had been asked his opinion singly, nine-tenths of them would have expressed disapproval of the lynching. But it is certain that another crime of the same kind would be avenged in the same way. As regards this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crime, therefore, the law there has been permanently suspended. The strongest proof of the demoralization is that the public is unmindful of the consequences to itself of accepting lynching as a pardonable if not a proper substitute for law. It has not occurred to the community that though the rape was the beginning, the lynching was by no means the end of the matter. It has yielded to the insidious mastery of the bully, who seemed to the weak public spirit of the place, to have its own righteous indignation as his ally. Of course a similar crime may be committed in any community. In other communities, too, a lynching has at some time occurred. But the ominous fact about this crime and this lynching (and about all like it) is the acquiescence of the public spirit of the town in lynching as a method of dealing with the crime. It was by this acquiescence that the community let its civic sentiment die.

IV.

To any man who has ever considered the tedious development of civil society—and to these men of this town when any other crime than this crime or murder committed by a Negro is considered—it is plain that mob-law denies its first principle, which is nothing else than this: that men instead of avenging their own wrongs consent to have justice dealt out by law. Thus only is it that justice has come to take in civilized life the place that revenge held in savage life. The fundamental mistake they make is in supposing that lynching for a particular crime will deter from that crime. This belies all history, for all revengeful dealing with crime has increased crime. Every lynching adds a desperate dash to the temper of the whole community, especially to the criminal temper. The preventive of crime—the only preventive that men have found—is the undelayed and certain and solemn punishment by law, sustained by a confident and unyielding body of public opinion.

The breaking-down place in their public sentiment is the place so accurately pointed out by Judge Bleckley—that acquiescence in mob-rule brings its terrible demoralization without reference to the character of the crime that provoked it. There is no escape from this conclusion. The building-up of institutions that fortify us against the vengeance-taking temper of the savage, which is yet in us at no great depth below civilization, is the *summum bonum* of human achievement; and that the maintenance of these institutions is our only safeguard against a return to vengeance is perhaps the single

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great human judgment that no conceivable experience of our race can ever make subject to revision.

The gravest significance of this whole matter, therefore, lies not in the first violation of law, nor in the crime of lynching, but in the danger that Southern public sentiment itself under the stress of this new and horrible phase of the race-problem will lose the true perspective of civilization. If this happen, the white will not lift the Negro: both will go down to the vengeance-taking level. This raises the old question whether after all if a social clash come, Southern institutions will prove equal in the black districts to the task of maintaining themselves. Jefferson wrote in his Autobiography: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people [the Negro slaves] are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government." Then after pleading for emancipation and deportation he declared that if the evil of slavery or of the Negroes' presence "is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up." In fact civilization has already nearly gone out in certain low-lands where the Negro is dominant in morals and in numbers, and in every way except in politics. Of these regions we hear little; but whenever for any reason we decide to reclaim them we shall have a task of a new kind. Fortunately these places where the Negro lives almost apart from white civilization and almost beyond its influence are not yet extensive. But the fate that has befallen them must serve as a reminder of two cardinal principles that the experience of the two races in their unnatural living together has established; for these two principles have been established if no more: First, that the white man's surrounding and educating civilization is necessary to the elevation of the blacks or even to the maintenance of the level they have reached: the white man must save himself from Negro dominance, or both will sink. The next principle is that the yielding of public sentiment to the white bully will so dwarf and misdirect public sentiment that civilization itself will suffer an eclipse. Then the long shadow which has before given so many hints of it may at last unroll from its folds —barbarism. Consider the present condition of South Carolina where the bully has distorted and weakened public sentiment till it has fallen so low as to rejoice in its subjection. It has lost the true perspective of civilization and is of no help whatever to the moral force of the nation. It has, indeed, reached that grotesque level where the bully plays the part of a moral reformer.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

V.

Indeed it is as a sort of moral reformer, a dispenser of justice, that the bully begins his career. To go back to the main matter in hand, let us see how insidiously under his influence vengeance comes to take the guise of justice and to break down the saner convictions even of strong and good men. The tone of some Southern newspapers bears witness to this in the comment that a lynching is a grave offence but that certain crimes require it. This gives up the case of civilization against the bully, for it throws away the only defence that civilization has against him—a confident and unconquerable reliance on law. It is only the worse that the men who make such comment are good men, mean to be good men; for it is only when good men yield that public sentiment decays.

Even a man of as great good sense as Major Charles H. Smith, of Georgia, a man of the most sterling personal qualities, sees in a lynching chiefly the deserved punishment of a brute. Deserved? Yes. But this does not touch the fringes of the question. Are men's deserts to be dealt out to them by mobs? Then the more righteous the mob, the fewer will be spared; and a really righteous mob, if it were not to encounter a stronger mob of a different mind, might go forth and clear the earth for the coming of the just. But it would meet another mob, and there would be as many mobs as men had impulses. There is nothing new in this: our ancestors spent many centuries thus; and thus to-day some of the African kinsmen of our colored people are engaged. History has usually called this barbarism.

Bishop Haygood, too, whose untiring labor to solve this same dark problem entitles him to the sincerest admiration, and I can speak of him only with the greatest respect—Bishop Haygood, who declares over and over again that mob-rule is anarchy, and does not mean to apologize for it, explains the burning of a brute who violated and murdered a child by saying that the mob suffered from "emotional insanity." Pray, what ails any mob? The question lies far back of this: for the community accepted and acquiesced in the mob's work. This the Bishop does not point out. He does not seem to see that herein lies the greatest danger of all—which is not the "emotional insanity" of the mob but the permanence of the insanity and imbecility of the public sentiment that accepts the mob instead of law.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And the bully distorts the incipient public sentiment even of the Negro himself. A correspondent, a Negro who has spent many years in teaching his race and is a man held in esteem where he lives, puts this question: "Why is it that a white man never was and never will be lynched for a similar crime against a Negro woman?" This goes to the heart of the lurking danger that lies in any race-conflict involving a social question. It may be meant as a cry for justice, but it will be heard as a cry for revenge. Because a Negro is lynched, a white man should not be lynched even for the same crime: each alike should be punished by law. But the Negro justly cries for justice in dealing with social crimes. Let it come, striking through all traditions of slavery, through race-hatreds, through the degrading attitude of men to women of their own race or of other races; let it come lifting men and levelling all artificial social standards to its equal dealing! He has not profited by democracy who flinches or hesitates. Let it come and work as inexorably as a law of nature! But men who know what social growths are, know that the standard of justice anywhere—especially touching any social institution—is a thing that has been slowly evolved and can be but slowly changed. The standard of justice that one race or one grade of society anywhere applies to another race or another social grade is not what the other race or other social grade would have; but the existing standard, high or low, can be changed in only two ways—by revenge (which will change it by making it lower), and by a firm tolerance and by time. The memory of slavery must become dimmer than it has become through one generation, and men must become milder and women stronger, before justice can anywhere come in our dealing with a social crime that cuts across a race-line or even across a social line. But its coming in Southern life will not be hastened by the Negro's reminding the white man of his own crimes. This will rip wide open all the healing seams that Time has sewed to cover up the social skeleton of slavery. The brute instinct will thrive on such a reminder, and the race cleavage will widen.

VI.

It is proper to remember and I most solemnly insist that it be not forgotten, that nowhere else has public sentiment such a strain on it, nowhere else has civilization such a burden, as in the South. No student of institutions can measure the weight of this burden, from the time that slavery began till now—a weight the heavier because both

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slavery and reconstruction misdirected civilization—no man can measure it who has not lived under it and studied it while it crushed him. It is the colossal and continuous misfortune of modern times, the furthest-reaching blunder, attended with a longer train of evils than any other, than any war or pestilence—the coming of the African to this continent at all; for which he alone of all the parties concerned is guiltless, and by which he only, hard as his lot is, has profited. Herein lies the trouble. If he had come to our shores as a conqueror we should have driven him back. With this kind of problem the dominant races of the world have long known how to deal. But we dragged him from the jungles and brought him against his wish. He is a conqueror none the less. What matter, for instance, who owns the land of certain low-lying parts of the South or gathers tribute, or holds the little posts of honor there, so long as only Negroes live there, and set the slow pace of life, the low standard of living, the measure of receding morals? There they are the economic conquerors, and the world profits nothing by their conquest. With this kind of problem it is yet to be seen if we know how to deal. Even in slavery the Negro was an economic burden[1]—and a social burden of course. In freedom he is a social and a political and, to a degree, an economic burden still, and a burden he will be on thought and character, as far into the future as men can yet see—except them who are always seeing the dawn of the millennium.

And the Negro's own case is nothing less than pathetic. Consider him at his best. I cite the case of a manly and accomplished gentleman of the race. His life has no background. What we mean by ancestry is lacking to him; and not only is it lacking but its lack is proclaimed by his color and he is always reminded of it. Be he who he may and do he what he may, when the final personal test comes, he finds himself a man set apart, a marked man. There is a difference between the discrimination against him in one part of the country and in another part, but it is a difference in degree only. He is not anywhere in a fellowship of complete equipoise with men of the other race. Nor does this end it. The boundless sweep of opportunity which is the inheritance of every white citizen of the Republic falls to him curtailed, hemmed in, a mere pathway to a few permis-

[1] See Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted's books, which seem strangely to have been forgotten in the mass of angry and useless literature that followed them—a literature, by the way, on which as much good brains was wasted as good blood was wasted on the battlefields it led to.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sible endeavors. A sublime reliance on the ultimate coming of justice may give him the philosophic temper. But his life will bring chiefly opportunities to cultivate it. And for his children what better? To those that solve great social problems with professional ease, I commend this remark that Mr. Lowell is said to have made: "I am glad I was not born a Jew; but if I had been born a Jew, I should be prouder of that fact than of any other." You can find men who are glad that they were not born Negroes; but can you find a man who, if he had been born a Negro, would be prouder of that fact than of any other? When you have found many men of this mind, then this race-problem will, owing to some change in human nature, have become less tough; but till then, patience and tolerance.

VII.

Now, as for the remedy, which is a remedy also for many other evils: Build up and vitalize the local public sentiment of the best men in the South. An energetic campaign should be made to strengthen it against acquiescence in lynch-law. Especially should those rapidly advancing communities whose industry has solved the race-problem and many other problems besides, make it known that they will not dally with this threat to their civilization and progress. If the business-man deal with the bully, he ought to make short work of him. Let it be proclaimed by boards of trade, by merchants, by bankers, by manufacturers, that they will not have industry and commerce hindered by lawlessness. All the other machinery for strengthening public sentiment should be used. There are three thousand newspapers in the Southern States. If the editor of every paper, each in its own town (as not a few are now doing, especially in North Carolina), were to ask the men of influence and of character there whether under any circumstances or for any crime they ever approve of lynching, he would give expression to the real sentiment of his town; for a mob never represents the sentiment of a community until a community's spirit is utterly dead. In the State of Tennessee, for instance, where not long ago there was a lynching, there are more than two hundred papers of all classes. If every paper in the State had published the opinion of a hundred of the foremost men of character and influence in its community, they would have given expression to the disapproval of twenty thousand of the most influential citizens of the State, and this surely would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have had a tonic effect on public sentiment and a deterring influence on criminals.

Then there are the ecclesiastical organizations. The preacher is in certain ways a greater power in most Southern communities than in any other part of the country. If the regular Conferences of the Methodists, the Associations of the Baptists, the Synods of the Presbyterians, as a part of their proceedings were to recite the hurt done to the character of every community by mob-violence and were to speak frankly what they all feel—this would have a strong influence, and it would encourage every preacher to be as bold in practical religion as he is valiant in theological argument.

But, most important of all, every political convention should recognize this evil and work for its abolition. If the platforms of the State conventions demand it, most of all if the county conventions demand it and require candidates for the shrievalty to declare boldly that they will resist mobs at the risk of their lives,—as several sheriffs have lately done with great bravery, and as the mayor of Roanoke, Virginia, did—public sentiment would soon actively shape itself into such condemnation of mob-violence that it would cease. Thus, through these organizations, and especially through the grand juries of every county whose sworn duty this is, the dazed and languid sentiment of any unfortunate community can be strengthened. It is the vast majority of good men, law-loving men who make up these organizations, and it is they that must defend themselves from the dangerous savagery of the smaller number who regard it as a manly thing to take the law into their own hands.

It is safe to say that there are not five men in every thousand in any county in all the black States who ever went with a mob or ever lynched a man. The appalling spectacle is therefore presented of a few men bringing great commonwealths into disrepute, holding back their development, and demoralizing their civilization. This is the simple truth; but the whole truth is more—the nine hundred and ninety-five law-abiding and law-loving men share in the guilt as they must share in its consequences, if they show themselves unable or unwilling to put an end to it. Acquiescence is surrender.

With the brute the law can deal; and there are most hopeful indications that the bully is doing his last violence to a civilization that he has so long cowed. He is an old acquaintance to those who know Southern life, this imitator of the faults and pretender to the traditions of that much-discussed worthy, "the old Southern

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gentleman." He had much to do with a war the penalty of which other men who had nothing to do with it have had to pay. With his oaths and "honor" he has strutted through all the quiet ways of Southern life, calling himself "the South," writing and speaking of "our people," and now he leads mobs to avenge "our women." The new spirit of industry should take him in hand. Commerce has no social illusions; it has the knack of rooting up vested social interests that stand in its way; and it has been left for commerce, by infusing its influence into the body of local public sentiment in the South, to rid us at last of this historic, red-handed, deformed, and swaggering villain.

WALTER H. PAGE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

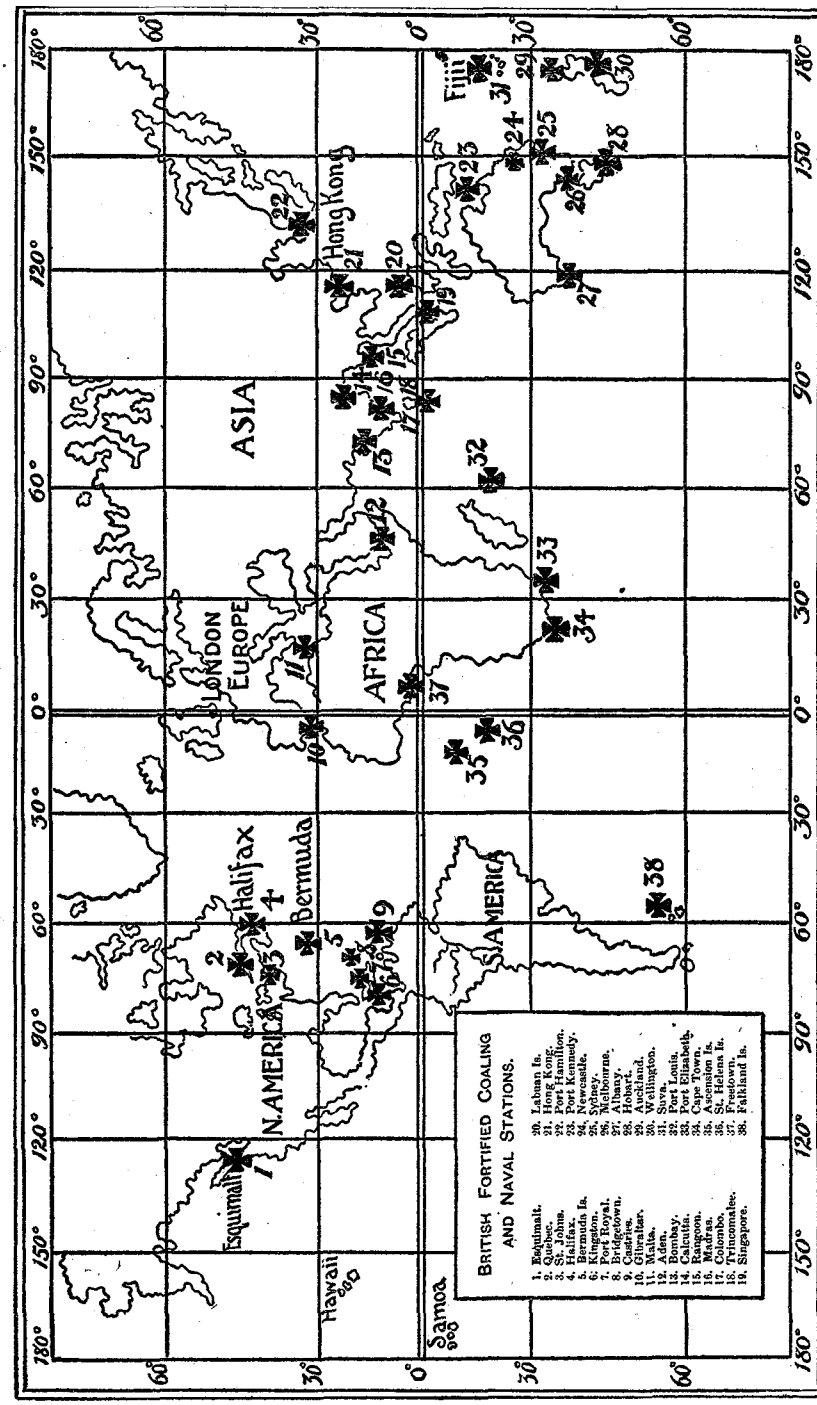
AMERICA'S BATTLE FOR COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

WHAT was the impelling force that brought the restless sea-rovers to Britain, and sent their descendants all over the world from that mother of nations, enabling them to possess and hold eighty per cent —the fairest lands—of the Temperate Zone? Is not that force more impelling now than it was in the early history of that wonderful race, and are not Anglo-Saxon freedom, law, and language destined to prevail in all lands where nature has provided the most suitable habitation for man?

Of the world's stores of coal, that potential basis of future sea-power and industrial and commercial supremacy, the United States possesses fifty-eight per cent, and England and her colonies possess thirty per cent. Measured by availability, quality, and nearness to the sea, these Anglo-Saxon peoples own more than ninety per cent of all the coal in the world. France, Germany, Belgium and Spain combined own less than two per cent, and the coals of Russia are in the remote interior, and forever landlocked. Great Britain exported twenty-one million tons of coal to European countries, in 1891. The bulk of the coal owned by England and her colonies is in islands, convenient to deep harbors, easily defended so long as she is mistress of the seas. Thus the coal of Great Britain, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Vancouver, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, South Africa, Borneo, Labuan, is connected by railways with deep harbors defended with modern rifle-guns; and in case of war, the English fleet, supported by the fortresses of Hong-Kong and Port Hamilton, would control the coal of China and Corea. For lack of coal and fortified coaling-stations, no fleet could keep the seas against the English navy.

It would seem that England is preparing either to fetter the commerce of the world, or to insure the good behavior of mankind. Steadily she has acquired and fortified strategic points commanding the pathways of commerce. Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden command the short route between Europe, Asia and Australasia. The fortified

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

harbor of Singapore guards the Straits of Malacca, and Port Kennedy the Torres Straits. Port Hamilton controls the pass between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan. Australia and Tasmania have their great coaling and naval stations guarded by the heaviest guns, and Wellington guards the short sea-route through Cook's Straits. Cape Town and Port Elizabeth are fortified bases from which a British fleet may command the passage around the Cape of Good Hope, as the naval station at the Falkland Islands will give her the command of the passage around Cape Horn in times of war. Halifax, St. John's and Quebec command the passage through the St. Lawrence into our Great Lakes, and the impregnable naval stations of Halifax, Bermuda, Kingston, Bridgetown, and Castries command our Atlantic and Gulf coasts, on which we have not a single fortification that could withstand the guns of a modern warship for twenty-four hours; while Esquimalt guards Puget Sound and menaces our Pacific coast. England's sea-power is greatly strengthened by her command of the termini of the principal submarine cables, giving her daily communication with her important naval stations from Esquimalt at the west to far-away Auckland at the east, while in the event of war the rest of the world would be cut off from this telegraphic communication.

But England's warlike preparations are guarantees of peace, rather than threats of war. It was not her victories on sea and land, but the victories of her statesmen of commerce, her Cobdens and Peels, that brought her prosperity at home and power abroad. Had Agincourt, Blenheim, Trafalgar, and Waterloo never been fought, England's policy of "Free-Trade, Peace, Good-Will among Nations," would yet have made her what she is—the financial and commercial power of the world. So uninterrupted has been her prosperity since her adoption of Free Trade and her broad and liberal Colonial policy, that her wealth has steadily increased, until the world stands indebted to her in an amount estimated at ten thousand millions of dollars. She has thus acquired the strongest interest in the peace and prosperity of the world.

An analysis of the statistics of England's foreign trade inclines one to the belief that the control of her immense foreign possessions has less influence upon her commerce than has generally been claimed. For 1891, her exports and imports amounted in value to £682,676,414. Of this amount, £185,420,865 was derived from the direct trade with British possessions, while £497,255,549 was with other

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries, her trade with the United States alone amounting to £131,963,603 and the imports from this country into Great Britain exceeding in value the total imports from all the British possessions. In other words, England's commerce with the sixty-five millions of people under the Stars and Stripes amounted to almost as much as her trade with the three hundred and eighty-six millions under the British flag. Civilization increases the productive capacity of the millions of semi-civilized peoples who have come under British domination, and it is questionable whether a large part of the vast sums expended upon her warships and fortifications, would not bring greater returns if invested in the building of roads, the deepening of harbors, and in other methods of developing the countries she has taken under her protection. What practical service has her powerful navy rendered since Trafalgar, that a few fleet cruisers for the protection of her merchants in semi-civilized ports might not have rendered? Were the advantages gained at Sebastopol worth the costs of the Crimean War? This question, perhaps, cannot be answered, for until her people become enlightened enough to abolish absolutism at home, Russia might prove a dangerous neighbor to such an important highway of commerce as the Suez Canal. But are not the cheapness of England's manufactures, her large merchant-marine, and her excellent consular service, the greatest protection to her commerce? Is not the belief that her commercial supremacy is the result of the protection of her navy, a like fallacy with that entertained by many in this country, that we have prospered because we have been protected by our tariff laws?

English statesmen realize, at last, that England has little interest in the preservation of the "balance of power" in Europe, compared with her interest in the growing commercial rivalry with the United States. These two countries, while choosing seemingly divergent foreign and commercial policies, have moved forward on very much the same lines of development, differentiated only by a difference of conditions. England, with a small, over-populated area, and with over-production in manufactures, looked abroad for the acquisition of territory and the extension of her trade: colonizing where the conditions of soil and climate were favorable, or else utilizing the native populations and, by giving to the humblest subject under British protection the same liberty enjoyed by the English at home, enabling herself to govern and make tributary to her wealth, a vast empire extending around the globe. From the adoption of Free-Trade in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the first half of the present century her commerce has grown until now the tonnage of her merchant-marine exceeds that of all the world besides.

When the American Colonies were driven by the stupidity of the British ministry to separate from the "mother country," they occupied a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic Coast. The land-acquisitiveness and colonizing instincts so characteristic of their progenitors have marked the progress of the people of this country. Steadily extending their dominion westward over a vast empire acquired by purchase and conquest from France, Spain, and Mexico; colonizing and bringing into the Union new States, until the thirteen weak colonies have increased to forty-four rich and powerful commonwealths, our people found ample scope for their enterprise in the colonization and development of this richly-endowed land; and they were not forced, as were their kin beyond the sea, to look abroad for the gratification of their restless activities. In the first half of the present century, before railways had made easy communication with the growing West, our seaboard population directed much of their energies to foreign commerce, with such signal success that American-built ships not only carried the bulk of our own commerce, but threatened to wrest the supremacy of the seas from Great Britain. The adoption of Free-Trade inaugurated an era of unexampled prosperity for British manufacturing and commerce; but we must look to additional causes for the decline in the merchant-marine engaged in foreign commerce in this country. That this decline was influenced by the lower cost of shipbuilding in England and by our tariff and registration laws is certain, but these causes had not the controlling influence claimed by many opponents of Protection. The claim that the decline was due mainly to the ravages of the Confederate cruisers during our Civil War is disproved by the fact that in 1856 American-built ships carried seventy-five per cent of our foreign commerce and only sixty-five per cent in 1861, at the beginning of the War; and thirty-five per cent in 1870, which had declined to twelve per cent in 1892. This decline was not only relative, but absolute: In 1857 the value of our foreign commerce carried in American ships was $518,366,027 and in foreign vessels, $213,519,796; whilst in 1892 the value of our foreign commerce carried in American ships was $218,366,281, and the value carried in foreign ships had increased to $1,553,841,641. Thus the decline began prior to the War, and has continued since its close.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With the rapid development of the West and South, accompanying the building of railways, the available capital in this country found more profitable investments in the interior than in shipbuilding; and railway investments, because accompanied with liberal land-subsidies, were more enticing to foreign capital brought to this country. As only American-built ships could engage in our coast and internal trade, we have built a great merchant-marine for our home traffic. While our shipbuilding for foreign commerce has declined, we have in a surprisingly short time built in this country more than half the railway mileage of the world—one hundred and seventy thousand miles, or forty thousand miles more than the three hundred and sixty-five millions of Europeans have built on the European continent.

Is not the industrial and commercial supremacy of England to be transferred to this country, and what are some of the forces working to that end? Of all the coal mined in the world, from the beginning of this century to the present time, that speck upon the ocean has produced quite one-half. Her output of coal still exceeds that of any other country. In 1891 she mined thirty-six per cent of the world's product, while the United States produced thirty-three per cent. This country is increasing its output of coal at the rate of ten per cent per annum, while the increase in Great Britain is less than two per cent. The cost of coal is increasing in Great Britain and decreasing in this country. England exports thirty-one per cent of her total product of coal, while this country exports less than one per cent of its product. This country will in the near future become a large exporter of coal. Great Britain has for many years led all other countries in the production of pig-iron, producing, until of late years, more than one-half of all the pig-iron made in the world. Great Britain reached her maximum output of iron in 1882, and this country has doubled its production since that time, now producing more iron and steel than its competitor. In 1867, Great Britain produced fifty-two per cent of all the iron made in the world and the United States produced only fourteen per cent. In 1891 the United States turned out thirty-four per cent and Great Britain only thirty per cent of the world's product. The production of iron is increasing in this country faster than the increase in population. Between 1830 and 1860, the production of pig-iron increased twice as fast as the population, and between 1870 and 1890 it increased four times as rapidly, and the ratio is an increasing one, governed by what Mr. Atkinson

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has called the "law of accelerating demand." From 1880 to 1890, the population of the United States increased twenty-eight per cent, and the production of pig-iron for the same time increased one hundred and thirty per cent. Great as will be the world's consumption of iron in the future, it is estimated that this country must supply forty-five per cent of the world's demands in 1900. England exports the greater part of her iron products, while this country as yet imports more than it exports. The Southern States are now producing iron at a low enough cost for export. Sir Lowthian Bell, as the result of several visits to this country to study our iron resources and industries, says—

"If we are to meet American iron in Europe, Asia, and Australia, it will be that produced in the Southern States of the Union."

England will probably for a longer time retain her hold upon the textile industry, which now furnishes about one-half the total value of her exports, notwithstanding that the principal fibres, cotton, wool, and jute, must be imported from distant lands. Great Britain has now about one-half of all the cotton-spindles in the world, while the United States has only one-sixth, and these two countries show about the same rate of increase in this industry for the last ten years. As this country now produces eighty per cent of all the cotton grown in the world, and has cheaper power, and as it is estimated that the cost for labor a yard of product is less in this country than in Great Britain, it is evident that, with a change in our foreign commercial policy, and with the improvement in our shipping and trade facilities incident thereto, we shall compete with that country in supplying the world's growing demands for machine-made cotton fabrics. The capacity of the Southern States for cotton production is equal to any demands that the world may make. The production increased from three million bales in 1870 to nine million bales in 1890;—out of all proportion to the increase in population in those States for the same time. The production of raw cotton is not increasing elsewhere. One per cent of the tillable area of the Southern States can produce all the cotton now required by all the spindles in the world. The discovery of vast deposits of phosphates along the coasts of the Southern States, and the stores of phosphorus in some of the Southern ores soon to be converted into phosphate of lime through the basic steel process, will render cotton-growing profitable even on hitherto worn-out lands. The cotton of the South

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is convenient to cheap coals, abundant water-power, and deep harbors.

The production of grain in this country is increasing more than twice as fast as the increase in population. We already produce breadstuffs enough to feed nearly double our population, with only a small fraction of our arable lands in cultivation. Hitherto the capacity for consumption in this country has kept ahead of our manufacturing capacity, our exports consisting mainly of the products of the soil, amounting to eighty per cent of the total. This has been due to the fact that each year half a million immigrants have come to our shores and settled upon our unoccupied lands, and have been for a time necessarily consumers, and not producers. The opening of new lands by railways having land grants and the inducements thus offered, carried westward a vast population, taking from the productive capacity of the older States and adding to the consumptive capacity of the growing West. But a change has come. We cannot expect the same stream of immigration. There are no more public lands to be given to railways. Factories spring up in the South and West to compete with those in the older States, and the time has arrived when we must look abroad for markets for the surplus products of the inventive and industrious people who have occupied this land. These people have at last realized the folly of Protection and have demanded with no uncertain voice, that the tariff be placed on a strictly revenue basis. They will probably soon learn that the interests of the manufacturer, as well as the interests of the entire people, will be best served by a policy steadily advancing to absolute freedom of exchange.

The reduction of our tariff, unaccompanied by corresponding measures to promote our foreign commerce may, because of the rapidly increasing productive capacity of this nation, produce congestion, and, at least, temporary disaster. Our principal rival has certain advantages, not easily to be overcome: her long established trade relations with all parts of the world; her trained and efficient consular service; her national Board of Trade, working in harmony with local boards and with her consular service and foreign merchants; her stable and consistent financial policy; her great superiority in merchant-marine. It came recently to my knowledge that a merchant in New York wishing to ship cannel coal from Norfolk to Rio Janeiro, was able to get a cheaper rate *via* Liverpool, than direct from Norfolk to Rio. The fact that Liverpool is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nearer, by way of Cape Horn, to all the ports of the Pacific than is New York, and the use of the Suez Canal, give England control of the commerce of Asia. Of the 12,217,986 tons of freight passing through this Canal in 1891, more than seventy-seven per cent was in English vessels. The ample protection given by British fleets to England's merchants trading with semi-civilized countries, and the fact that her trained statesmen can give their time to the consideration of commercial, industrial and financial questions, while much of the energy and intellect of our statesmen must be dissipated by the evils incident to our pernicious "spoils" system in the selection of government employes, constitute another tremendous benefit.

What can we do to equalize the above-enumerated advantages possessed by our commercial rival? The construction of a ship-canal uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans would place New York 2,740 miles and New Orleans 3,480 miles nearer the ports of the Pacific than Liverpool would then be, and nearer to Sydney, Auckland and Yokohama. The cost of this work, the completion of which would make this country the workshop and clearing-house of the world, would be less than the amount we spend annually for pensions, some of which is expended in a manner calculated to sap the manhood of our people. It is undeniable that England's policy of liberal subsidies to her ocean steamers has materially aided in building up her wonderful merchant-marine. Such subsidies are granted on condition that the ships form a part of her Naval Reserve, to be used in times of war. The people of this country are opposed to such subsidies; but might not the same end be reached more effectively by stipulating that, should the Government give aid to a ship-canal, this aid should carry the condition that all ships built in this country and agreeing to form part of our Naval Reserve should pass through the canal free of toll? This would not only stimulate shipbuilding in this country, but would give to our ships a great advantage in the carrying trade of the Pacific. We are fast building a Navy large enough to render all necessary protection to our merchants in foreign ports. Let us hope that the reform in our Civil Service will be carried forward until "ascertained fitness in the selection of government employes" shall obtain in all departments of the public service; and that our consular representatives abroad shall be regarded as the business-agents of our people, and selected with regard to their business qualifications, and promoted for efficient service.

When all these things have been done and the fetters of our re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strictive tariff laws removed, we shall enter the contest for industrial and commercial supremacy with the conditions greatly in our favor. Between England and the United States there is an increasing community of interest which is drawing these two countries into closer commercial and social relations. Is it unreasonable to hope that these interests and the ties of kinship will draw the English-speaking peoples of all lands into an Anglo-Saxon League that will insure peace and prosperity to all the world? While the continent of Europe is an armed camp and millions of men in the prime of life are removed from productive industry, to guard against imagined evils, or to gain petty and questionable advantages; and while the effective force of the people is dwarfed by the twin evils of Paternalism and Protection; the unfettered Anglo-Saxons, possessing the fairest and most productive lands, with dominion over the seas, owning ninety per cent of the world's stores of coal, producing already seventy per cent of all the iron and steel, ninety-five per cent of the raw cotton, eighty per cent of the tin, sixty-seven per cent of the gold, forty-eight per cent of the silver, fifty per cent of the wool, thirty-six per cent of the wheat, and producing more than one-half the manufactures of all kinds; controlling the short highways of commerce round the world—these peoples are entering upon an era of prosperity, unexampled in human history.

Is not the underlying force which is giving to the Anglo-Saxons the controlling influence in the world's affairs, traceable to the germ which gave to the Teutons who peopled Britain the appellation of the "free-necked men," and which has grown to an accepted principle where liberty prevails—that every man has an inherent right to do what he pleases with his own, so long as he does not interfere with the rights of his neighbor? Are not wars mainly the outgrowth of trade restrictions, and laws based on national selfishness? And will not unrestricted commercial rivalry between nations prove the most potent promoter of international comity and peace, and the greatest blessing to mankind?

JOHN R. PROCTER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CANADIAN HOSTILITY TO ANNEXATION.

ANNEXATION is as familiar a word to American statesmen as it is to British leaders. Louisiana and Florida, Texas, Northern Mexico and Alaska, have been acquired one after the other and in various ways. Cuba, Hayti and Hawaii have come within the sphere of discussion. But the problems connected with any proposition to annex the Dominion of Canada to the United States are so entirely different from those involved in all previous extensions of territory as to afford no room for legitimate comparison. Whether such a proposition is spoken of as "political union" or as "continental union," it involves the addition of a territory larger than that of the Republic; the amalgamation of a people who, as a whole, are intensely proud of their country, of their union with the British empire, and of their loyalty to the Queen; serious diplomatic difficulties, if not war, between the United States and Great Britain; the disruption of the British empire to a degree not measured by the secession of Canada, important as that would be; and finally, the commercial and political supremacy of the American Republic upon this Northern continent, and a marked diminution of British power, trade, territory and prestige.

Until the last two or three years, the idea has been only fitfully discussed in Canada and is now only indirectly referred to or supported. Thus, the party in power believe that the policy of the Opposition would result in annexation if it were carried out in the manner proposed; but they also believe that an attempt on the part of the Liberals to accomplish a policy of commercial discrimination against Great Britain would result in a Parliamentary overthrow, followed by a popular reversal of any success which might have been obtained through disguising the issue during an election contest. In the United States, however, the principle of "manifest destiny," as Charles Sumner called it, runs like a thread through every page of its international history, and is woven into many parts of its internal policy. The efforts made during the War of the Revolution to bring the Canadian Provinces, or Colonies as they were then called, into the new Confederation of States, are known to every reader of his-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tory. In Article XI of the Constitution of 1777 it was specially provided that

"Canada, acceding to the confederation and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of, this Union; but no other Colony shall be admitted to the Union unless such admission shall be agreed to by nine States."

But the British provinces refused to be won by persuasion and were left unconquered by force. Most Canadians believe to-day that the United States has shown a steady, deliberate dislike of their country and has pursued a policy more or less injurious to their interests.

The Oregon boundary dispute; the Maine boundary troubles, settled, it was thought, most unjustly by the Ashburton Treaty; the San Juan question; the abrogation of the fishery clauses of the Washington Treaty; the Atlantic Coast fisheries dispute; the refusal to allow Canadian volunteers to cross American territory during the North-West Rebellion and previously to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, although dozens of American regiments had passed through Canadian territory during the Civil War; the annexation of Alaska in order, as Secretary Seward once pointed out, to prevent British-Canadian extension on the Pacific Coast and to strengthen American influence in British Columbia; the Behring Sea fisheries dispute and the unfriendly manner in which Canadian sealers have been treated; the McKinley bill and its injurious agricultural schedule; the Alien Labor law, and its aggressive enforcement against Canadians; the constant threats regarding the Canadian Pacific Railroad; and refusals to entertain any proposition for fair reciprocity—all these things have combined to make Canadians as a rule consider the inhabitants of the Republic what the Liberal Premier of Ontario once termed them, "a hostile people." And these historical incidents, these evidences of doubtful friendship, are among the most powerful obstacles to future union or closer relations.

Intimately connected with these considerations is the concealed dislike of so many Americans to Great Britain or their avowed hostility to its interests. Whether this feeling is representative or not of the United States as a nation, Canadians are prone to look upon it in that light, especially when considering the utterances of politicians like the late General Butler, or the appeals to international prejudice made by leading American newspapers. Such incidents as America's expression of sympathy with Russia during the Crimean War and with Arabi Pasha during the Egyptian campaign are not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forgotten when the relations of Canada and the States are discussed. In a word, another serious obstacle to annexation is the possibility, dim or vivid, as it may seem to the individual, that some day the United States may drift, or be dragged, into a war with Great Britain, which under Continental Union would force Canadians to be false to their new flag or else to the honor and gratitude which they owe to their mother-country. "Manifest destiny," therefore, is dependent for the first step towards realization upon the Canadian people's being impressed with a conviction of the genuine friendship entertained by the United States towards themselves and Great Britain.

It must not be supposed, however, that there is no annexation sentiment in Canada to meet the annexation talk in the United States. There is some—probably the same proportion that existed in 1774, or that could have been found in 1812, in 1849, in 1867, or in any year since the Thirteen Colonies severed their connection with England. Periods of depression give the feeling a slight impetus, as was the case in 1849, when a number of young Montreal men signed a document in favor of annexation. Many of them subsequently rose to eminence, several were knighted, one became Prime Minister of Canada and another Chief-Justice of Quebec; and all who have ever been heard of, lived to express their sincere regret for a hasty ebullition of anger.

In recent years, a brilliant but intensely unpopular Englishman, Professor Goldwin Smith, has devoted his pen and his time to advocating annexation. The result of this advocacy was first visible about five years ago, when Mr. Erastus Wiman and Sir Richard Cartwright tried to convince the Canadian people that the only hope for Canada lay in its immediately obtaining free, unrestricted access to the American market. It was pointed out upon a thousand platforms that this could not be arranged without practically adopting the United States tariff against England, and charging high duties upon British goods while American were admitted free. But naturally, when the changes were rung from day to day upon the statement that free-trade with the Republic was necessary, even at the expense of a discrimination which would probably involve separation from the empire and control of the Canadian tariff by Congress at Washington, many of the supporters of these leaders became tinctured with annexation ideas. In any case, argued many, dependence upon Britain for protection and dependence upon the States in trade and fiscal matters would involve an impossible, anomalous, and disgraceful

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

position. Many Liberals in the elections of 1891 refrained from voting, others voted with the Conservatives, the party was again defeated, the Hon. Edward Blake, one of its leaders, retired and publicly announced his reasons for rejecting the party policy, numerous bye-elections followed, and Mr. Blake's manifesto having opened the eyes of Liberals everywhere, the Dominion Ministry received a majority never before equalled in a Canadian Parliament. Since then, the temporary increase in annexation sentiment has again subsided and Professor Goldwin Smith's little "Political Union Club" in Toronto is one of those organizations which never meet and concerning which no one knows anything or seems to care.

Apart from the difficulty of its being carried out, there are of course several ways of regarding this proposition. From the United States standpoint, it would mean the addition to the Republic of a vast area of fertile lands and rich resources in nickel, copper, gold, silver, coal, iron, and a hundred other minerals; the acquisition of half a continent; the amalgamation of an intelligent and liberty-loving people; the chance of advantage to one or other of the great political parties; the removal of a possible rival in power and population; and the addition of a voting population to the Union which would aid effectively in the settlement of the Southern and negro problems. From the Canadian standpoint, it would mean the surrender of many advantages; the sacrifice of hundreds of millions spent upon the railways, canals and public works necessary to the achievement of a national ideal laid down at Confederation twenty-six years ago; the abrogation of a Constitution which is considered, rightly or wrongly, as the combination of all that is best in the British and American systems; the adoption of new institutions, new political principles, a new history—if such a phrase may be used—new ideas of business and commerce, and new fiscal regulations, all of which the average Canadian thinks inferior to his own. And these considerations would have to be dealt with after the nation's sentimental regard for Great Britain had been superseded by a friendly feeling towards the United States, which has not yet been encouraged by the Republic and which under the most favorable circumstances would take a long time to grow.

The defects in American national life have long been keenly studied and criticised in Canada, and the most enthusiastic advocate of annexation knows that this belief in the superiority of Canadian institutions, laws, politics and even morals, is ingrained in the heart of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the average citizen whom he endeavors to convert. I will summarize briefly a few of the most important considerations which occur naturally to a Canadian when annexation is mentioned.

I. Responsible government, as compared with Presidential rule. In Canada the Governor-General represents the Queen and reigns but does not rule. Parliament sits, legally, for seven years—practically, for five or six years, and the Premier must have the confidence of its majority. If the country is generally alarmed or indignant, it acts upon the members and they vote against the Ministry. Public posts in the control of Parliament, or of its delegated representatives—the Ministry of the day—are held for life during good behavior. On the other hand, the United States has its President chosen in the midst of a violent turmoil every four years—every two years, if preparation be part of the battle—and he is during his term responsible practically to nobody. The people cannot control him, Congress cannot overthrow his authority or that of his Cabinet, and the whole machinery of government, including the spoils system, rests to a great degree in the hands of one man.

II. Legislative methods. It is believed that injurious and poorly-digested laws, together with appropriations for large sums and important purposes, rushed through without care or consideration, are characteristic of the Congress system. These slipshod methods not only compel the courts to spend much time in testing the constitutionality of various laws, but encourage the corrupt legislation which is the chief source of lobbyism and its multitudinous evils. The absence from Congress of authoritative Cabinet spokesmen much enhances this difficulty, which has its root in that serious constitutional error, the lack of responsibility for legislation. At Ottawa, on the other hand, as in London, careful preparation is given by selected members of the Cabinet to all government bills, and where the measure is of vital import, the whole Cabinet probably deals with it clause by clause before submitting it to Parliament. After it is submitted to the House of Commons or to the Senate, as the case may be, all publicity is given to its terms. So with legislation on private bills, of which two months' notice is required and concerning which the fullest opportunity is given for criticism in the select committees to which the bills may be referred.

III. Divorce laws and morals. This consideration is alike important and difficult to deal with. It is not necessary to affect or presume superior national morality in order to express regret at the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

looseness of the marriage-tie in the great Republic. Cardinal Gibbons pointed out not long ago that between 1867 and 1886 two hundred thousand divorces were granted in the United States, as compared with one hundred and sixteen given in Canada. The trouble, of course, is caused largely by a difference in the laws of the various States, which permit the anomalous and disgraceful condition of a man or woman's being married in one State and single in another. And Canadians are disposed to see in the vast number of divorces granted yearly in New York, Chicago and more Western centres, a reflection upon the morality of the community and an evidence of a widespread lack of respect for the sacredness of the marriage-tie. Whether justified or not, this feeling is almost universal in Canada and constitutes another considerable obstacle to closer national relationship.

IV. The elective judiciary. Canadians are exceedingly averse from any judicial system founded upon an electoral basis. They recognize the merits of the United States Supreme Court, the ability and impartiality which characterize its judges; but the respect paid to its decisions and to the Court itself is believed to be due to the fact that the judges are carefully selected and hold office upon a life tenure. But lower down in the scale of courts, the unfortunate electoral system comes into play. At once, the lack of respect for the bench and its decisions we think, rightly or wrongly, becomes apparent; the judge is only an elected official, no longer impartial, but the servant of the people or of the party which elected him. In Canada, the judiciary is appointed for life and is composed of men of the highest legal standing. Sir John Macdonald, during his many years of Premiership, selected most of the principal judges, and, like the other party-leaders, chose men irrespective of politics or political services. The consequence is that from the lowest court to the highest, the bench of Canada is admired and respected throughout the Dominion.

V. Lack of respect for law. Whether it be a result of the elective system or a consequence of innate lawlessness in a part of the population, the frequency of lynch-law outrages throughout the Union is to Canadians incomprehensible. The great Canadian North-West has been opened up, the Indians have been dealt with, a half-breed population has been trained in self-government, the mines of British Columbia have been made to produce fifty million dollars in gold, and that great province has been opened up to civilization and settle-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, while thousands of miles of railway have been built, and all without one lynching! Such incidents, therefore, as the frightful tortures inflicted upon the negro who was burned to death at Paris, Texas; the hanging at Burnet, Texas, upon the very slightest suspicion, of a colored girl who was afterwards found to be innocent; the lynching of the man Denmark by a mob in South Carolina, with the Governor's practical connivance or approval, after the alleged victim had declared him innocent; these and similar occurrences produce a sensation of horror in the onlooker, equalled only by amazement as to the condition of the laws, or the public disregard of them, which permits such deeds. If they were exceptional and occasional, little would be thought of outbursts of this nature; but taking place constantly and extending as they do, from New Jersey to Texas, from New York to San Francisco, the average Canadian can hardly be blamed for disliking and fearing the general national conditions which permit such results.

VI. The spoils system. In Canada, positions in the Civil Service are obtainable after examination and are held during good behavior, which as a rule means for life. In the United States, the motto, "To the victors belong the spoils," has been lived up to in principle and practice. Senator Pendleton, during a speech on December 31, 1881, said that the idea that one hundred thousand offices, purely administrative, almost absolutely clerical in their nature, paying one hundred million dollars a year in salaries, should be distributed by the President and his friends after every election, was a crime against civilization, and "the prolific parent of fraud, corruption and brutality." This is a severe indictment, but it represents a very general feeling in Canada, strengthened by such incidents as the contention of Mr. Blaine's friends that he was beaten at the Minneapolis Convention by office-holders; the many weeks' struggle of President Cleveland and his whole Cabinet with office-seekers, to the neglect of national business; and the recent discoveries of fraud in the Pension Bureau.

VII. Banking and currency. In Canada, there seems no doubt that the American banking system is on its trial, and that the currency of the Republic is in a deplorable condition. Time may adjust matters, but the financial instability of the United States is a source of much dread to Canadian bankers and business-men and constitutes a most important factor in any discussion of international relations. Canadians are naturally cautious, and the spectacle of experiments

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such as the Sherman act; of agitations such as those the free-coinage men have been pushing; or of schemes such as the Populist leaders propose from time to time, fills them with uneasiness. The American system provides small banks for every part of the community, connected with each other by no apparent link, started upon no particular principle, with little capital and often no experience. The Canadian banking arrangements include a score of large banks, chartered by the Dominion Parliament every ten years, after a wide public discussion of necessary changes, having many branches in every portion of the country, with skilled and trained officers who rise by ability and are required to possess experience, enabling the General Managers accurately to measure the conditions in all parts of the country, to send money here and withdraw it there, to avert undue expansion and undue tightness; meanwhile giving the public a circulation which, issued by the banks and secured beyond all possibility of risk, affords the only known system whereby the public are assured of a rise and fall in the supply of money exactly in accord with the requirements of the moment. Such is the Canadian system, based upon a well-sustained public confidence and established in a manner to defy assault from the causes which every day overthrow small American institutions. This at least is the Canadian view of the situation; and coupled with a gold basis for our Dominion currency and no trouble whatever with the silver question, it affords another pretty strong objection to any proposed annexation scheme.

It is unnecessary to go at length into other Canadian objections. The obstacle afforded by a tariff double or treble that of the Dominion, may be alleviated in time, if President Cleveland during his term of office is able to persuade Congress to lower the duties—presuming that he wishes to do so. The difficulty looming dark upon the horizon in connection with seven millions of negroes whom the average American is indisposed to treat upon equal terms; the extreme length to which monopolies and trusts are carried; the dislike felt to wealthy monopolists and the danger arising from the constant accumulation of huge fortunes in a few hands; the cost and turmoil of the almost continual elections; the memory of that near approach to civil war at the time of the Tilden-Hayes contest; the enormous expenditure upon pensions:—all these considerations militate against the spread of annexationism in Canada. Were the question to be publicly and generally discussed they would be heard of in every detail and particular from a thousand platforms—and this with-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out anything but respect for the United States as a nation. There are indeed few appeals to patriotism which exercise a stronger and more immediate effect in Canada, than the picture of that great people battling with disunion and rebellion over a term of years, spending thousands of millions in money and thousands of lives for their flag and country. The Union's progress is appreciated; its Constitution, in many points so excellent, is respected; its prosperity in the past has been greatly admired, its future welfare is universally desired. And above all, Canada, in preserving and cementing its national unity, in protecting and promoting its trade and internal commerce, in extending its railways and encouraging immigration, wants no better exemplar.

One more point remains to be considered. Annexationists, wherever they may be, insist that Canada is suffering under terrible depression and poverty; that its commerce is restricted and its condition generally retrogressive instead of progressive—the only cure for all these evils being political union. Figures may be cited almost at random to prove the expansion of Canada since 1878, the year in which Sir John Macdonald came into power and in which the Conservative policy of protection was prepared for application in 1879. The exports, for instance, rose from $79,323,067 in 1878 to $113,963,375 in 1892; the imports from $93,089,787 in 1878 to $127,406,068 in 1892. The export of mineral products during this period increased by three million dollars; of fisheries, three millions; of forest products, three millions; animals and their products, fourteen millions; agricultural products, four millions; and manufactures, three millions. Meantime, the home production increased, as importation of foreign-made articles decreased, and Canadian industries soon showed the difference. As the census figures indicate, the number of factories increased from 49,923 in 1881 to 75,768 in 1891; the capital invested, from $165,302,623 to $353,836,817; the number of employes, from 254,935 to 367,865; the wages paid, from $59,429,002 to $99,762,441; the cost of raw material, from $179,918,593 to $255,983,219, and the value of products, from $309,676,068 to $475,455,705. It is estimated, upon these and other figures, that Canada added to its wealth $89,000,000 per annum, during the decade, as compared with $33,000,000 a year in the previous decade. Other evidences of this industrial progress are found in the importation of raw wool, which increased from 4,900,000 pounds in 1879 to 10,200,000 pounds in 1892; of raw cotton, which rose from 9,700,-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

000 pounds to 46,300,000 pounds, and of raw sugar, which leaped up from 21,000,000 pounds to 343,000,000 pounds.

That the United States is not the best market for Canadian farmers is held to be shown by the fact that Canada exported in 1891 $10,917,357 worth of farm products to the Republic and imported from it $9,395,747, while it exported to Great Britain $25,074,464 and imported from that country only $1,408,239 worth. That Canadian trade compares favorably with American is indicated by figures, also for 1891, which show that Canada's trade, *per capita*, was in imports, $24.77 and in exports, $20.32; while the trade of the United States was in imports only $13.45 and in exports, $14.08. The Canadian debt of $237,000,000 is now stationary and compares favorably with the Australian debt of more than $700,000,000. If American railroad mortgage debts of more than $4,000,000,000 were included in the debt of the United States, as the chief railway indebtedness is included in figures for the Dominion, there would be an equally favorable showing as between Canada and the United States. But Canada has spent $114,000,000 on railways, $36,000,000 on canals and $35,000,000 on other public works since 1867, besides assuming at Confederation and afterwards $109,000,000 of Provincial debts; so that she does not feel the burden of indebtedness, in face of substantial results, public approval of the expenditure, redundant revenues and enhanced credit. Without, however, going further into figures, Canadians may well be pardoned for inquiring why in such circumstances they should be pessimistic, and why pessimism should lead them into despair—and the American Union.

To summarize, the conditions of the annexation problem seem simple and easily understood. Canada is contented with her present national position, and conservative Canadians entertain a profound belief in the superiority of the British system of government over the American. They think the institutions, laws, morals, finance and legislation of the Dominion superior to those of the United States, and they would not care to risk serious changes through annexation. They are every year becoming more attached to Great Britain and more grateful for the power and liberty which can be obtained within the British realm. They are afraid of American aggression, suspicious of American dislike to the mother-land, averse from the necessity which would exist of hostile fiscal legislation under annexation, and of possible future conflict with Great Britain. They are becoming profoundly interested in the British market, as opposed to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

old "sixty million market" theory, and have defeated by an overwhelming vote unrestricted reciprocity schemes which seemed to involve trade discrimination against England. Their commerce, railways, steamship lines, cable projects, and waterways all converge, east and west, toward Britain and British countries, instead of south to the United States. And of Americans who feel inclined to support passively or aid actively some annexation propaganda, the majority of Canadians honestly ask, Why should you desire or expect us to do what you would never dream of doing yourselves? Why should Canada, with its vast and wealthy territory, its intimate connection with the greatest naval, commercial and territorial power on earth, and its splendid institutions, seek union with another nation, whatever its wealth and population, progress and prospects may be?

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE UNITED STATES FOR FRENCH CANADIANS.

DID I not fear to proclaim what we French call a *vérité de la Palisse*, I should say that the most evident proof of instability in any system is found in its periodic commotions and changes. From whatever cause the disturbance may arise, it indicates a defect of equilibrium, which sooner or later must result, if not in overthrow, at least in a more or less radical change of front. The political organization of the Canadian Confederation appears to me to fall absolutely within these conditions of instability. After the Constitution of 1792 which, by opening the door to many abuses of power, drove the people to insurrection, we were favored, in 1841, with what is known to us as "the Union," that is, the union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. This so-called "Union," sprung from that of absolutism and injustice, could not endure, and, after twenty-five years' hard service over an impossible road, was finally abandoned by the wayside, like a worn-out vehicle, and was succeeded by a Confederation of all the British Provinces of North America.

This Confederation, hastily conceived and badly carried out, which was to settle everything and give satisfaction to everyone, brought safety to neither principle nor person; it remains a hybrid combination which threatens ruin to itself at every moment, a combination never intended by its inventors—as is an open secret to-day—to be more than a makeshift to meet pressing difficulties, and prepare the way for some more definite arrangement. This "definite arrangement" meant, for the simple, of whom there were more than one might think among the sponsors of the new *régime*, political independence at some future day beneath the ægis of Great Britain, with a possible sceptre wielded by a scion of the House of Brunswick; and for the knowing, Imperial Federation. But whatever may have been the dreams of the one party or the plans of the other, one fact is patent: a fair trial has been given to the new organization. For more than a full quarter-of-a-century, the makeshift has hobbled on its way with greater or less misadventure, and to-day everyone, Liberal or Conservative, feels the necessity of some movement towards

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"the definite arrangement." Everyone feels it, everyone discusses it, even though without unanimity of view or power of definition.

The question has long been under private examination, and from time to time has made such claims upon public attention, and particularly during the last year or two, that at the present moment it seems universally admitted that the matter must be solved without long delay. In fact, even those who have a material interest in the present *status quo* have never dared to pretend that the existing conditions can be permanently maintained. From which it follows that some political change is universally acknowledged in Canada as inevitable. Opinions are divided only on the question, "Which is the way we must eventually tread towards our final goal?" Three roads are open before us: first, Imperial Federation, already spoken of, and in favor of which active mission-work is done in certain quarters; second, Independence, pure and simple, without those dreams of British protection which fit in with nothing, practically or theoretically; third, Annexation with the United States.

These different ways have been recognized and studied often and at length by most serious thinkers, but ever from the point of view and from the interest of our population at large, without particular attention, however, to the different elements of which it is composed. In this article I will endeavor, to the best of my ability, to serve as interpreter of what I believe to be the opinion of most of my compatriots, the French Canadians of the Province of Quebec, touching these three different ways of attaining their country's success; an end they cannot conceive of apart from their future welfare as a distinct nationality.

To look at the whole question seriously and to understand it thoroughly in all its peculiarities, it must first be set in its true light. And this is what I conceive to be its true light: French Canadians differ in some respects from other colonists, who have no other interest to consider than that of their adopted country. They are like the inhabitants of New England in the last century, who, finding themselves divided between two loyalties, that towards their mother-country and that towards themselves, naturally chose the latter. For the French Canadians the alternative is complicated, not only by difference of race and religion, but also by the instinctive feeling common to all conquered people. "Conquered people" is a term which I use here with hesitation, for I know it to be repugnant to the national susceptibilities of my French compatriots. Whenever

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an orator in Parliament or in any public meeting alludes to the "Conquest," he is almost sure to awaken a protest from some quarter. "He should not have said conquest, we were not conquered; we were ceded by France to England; it was not a conquest, but a cession"; and so on. In my opinion this is mere childishness; I cannot see that it is more humiliating to suffer defeat when crushed by numbers, than to be shamefully abandoned by one's own. To make such distinctions is only playing with words. For, whether we were ceded or conquered, the treaty was imposed on France by force of arms and against our will; the difference, if difference there be, is so slight that it does not merit more serious notice.

Nevertheless in deference to such susceptibilities, I will withdraw the word, and say that to judge adequately of the position held by the French Canadians in the present case, one must not fail to take into consideration the feeling common to all people who have lost their national existence. This feeling is the quiet, unavowed and unconscious, but instinctive expectation of some reaction ever cherished, ever dreamed of, and secretly nourished by some undefined hope of future emancipation. Even in the case of races decimated by subjection, this never dies out: how can it then be absent from the hearts of French Canadians, who, instead of gradually diminishing in number, have, on the contrary, developed and multiplied in the most extraordinary manner under the British *régime?*

For them *le fait accompli* has never been accepted with all its consequences. They loyally pledged allegiance to England, and they have loyally held to their pledge; but never did they hold that that pledge bound them to be and remain English, fastened to England now and forever. Not that they in any way entertain the slightest hope or desire to resume their former allegiance to France; but they feel themselves French, they are proud to be so, and are bound to remain so. On this free soil of America, where all races are invited to a common feast of concord, progress and equality in friendly emulation, they have at heart other ambitions than the ambition of eternally bearing the yoke of betrayed or conquered people, tamely linked to the fortunes of a nation whose greatness they may admire, but which is not and cannot be anything to them, and which, by the influence of tradition, they cannot but instinctively consider in a vague way as the "hereditary enemy."

It is natural enough that English Canadians, who are bound to England by tradition, by intellectual association and by nationality,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should, through pride of race and enthusiasm for the old flag, be ready to accept a perpetual vassalage and a dangerous solidarity, in the hope, by cementing the different parts of the empire, of upholding England in that preponderance of power which now seems slipping from her grasp. But we, Canadians of French origin, have not at all the same motives of sacrifice towards Downing Street. We are British subjects by neither blood nor choice. No particular affection binds us to England. We honor her flag which floats above us; we have before this spilt our blood in her defence, and we are still ready to answer her call, as a matter of duty; but she does not awaken with us any of those feelings which stir a nation. Reason and argument cannot destroy the stamp of nature. Our mother-country is France! If ever a conflict should arise between her and England, which God forbid—it is hard for me to say so, but it is true—we should be for France. Treason! some may cry. Nonsense; for our forefathers never voluntarily consented to become British subjects, and if we are such it is against their will and ours. Except for England and her cannons, we should still live under the flag of France.

Well, then, in presence of these facts, and since, in spite of all ties of blood and tradition, we should refuse political alliance with our former mother-country, how could we be expected to consent to an infeoffment not only with the United Kingdom, but also with distant countries like Australia, the Indies, East and West, and those other lands spread all around the globe, with which, although parts of that "Empire upon whose flag the sun never sets," we have no more natural connection than with the planet Mars? Such striking considerations appeal to even the most illiterate of my compatriots, and if French Canadians have a voice in the matter, they will never consent to sign a pact more galling perhaps to their feelings than hurtful to their material interests. Therefore, in my opinion—an opinion I hold in common with all our statesmen, publicists and men of business—if, in discussing the different forms of government which Canada might finally accept, the views of the French Canadians are taken into consideration, Imperial Federation must be absolutely thrown aside. It is conceivable that pressing political considerations or party exigencies may stifle the expression of public opinion through the press or from the platform upon this point; but those who can speak freely and without compromising any impending question must admit it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The first hypothesis being set aside, there remain Independence, and Political Union with the United States. Here again public opinion dares hardly declare itself on account of party considerations. With us, dissimulation forms such an integral part of our political life that most of us are quite prepared to deny the existence of the sun at mid-day, should such a statement in any way shock the prejudice of any individual or group of acknowledged influence and position. In a situation so complex as ours it could not be otherwise. Not only the political chiefs but even the rank and file of their following must beware of expressing any idea which has not received the approbation of a majority the more difficult to satisfy in that it is composed of elements often more antagonistic than heterogeneous. One may not even state bare facts, for fear approves them *in petto*.

And this is why—when the word "Annexation" is on the lips of every man, when the mention of Independence in a political meeting is the call for unanimous applause—there may yet be found politicians who, though neither blind nor deaf, will affirm to the agents of foreign newspapers that there is no desire for annexation in Canada, that no one longs for Independence, and that French Canadians in particular wish for but one thing—to be left where they are, while the rest of the world goes on its way. It is high time this legend should be reduced to its true significance. As I have already said, England for us is an ally to whom we are faithful, and toward whom we have no real or serious cause of complaint, but who, after all, does not call forth any spontaneous affection on our part. Should the day ever come when we must choose between the loyalty we owe to her and the love we bear our own children, she will have no right to expect from us the heroic abnegation of siding with her "for better, for worse." And this day cannot now be far distant. Nations, like individuals, cannot forever remain in tutelage; and the more we increase in number, the further we tread in the way of progress, the more pressing our need and cry for emancipation become. What form this emancipation may take is the question to be solved, and here again the French Canadian finds himself in a peculiar position.

Of course any independence that would give to the Province of Quebec, that is to say, to French Canadians, an autonomy of its own, distinct from that of the other confederated Provinces, is out of the question. Such an independence would be of no real benefit to us, for it would, on the contrary, isolate us while paralyzing the movements of the community as a whole. If Independence had for effect

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merely the dividing-up of our territory, and for ideal the establishment of four or five republics like San Marino or principalities like Monaco, surely it would hardly be worth the trouble to change our colonial incapacity for a still more insignificant position, our present instability for a complete loss of balance. Such Independence is dreamed of by no one. Moreover, it is as impracticable as it is absurd; for were we senseless and blind enough to wish it, our compatriots of different origin would never, thank God, be foolish or short-sighted enough to grant it or allow us to obtain it. No; there is only one way of looking at the question: whether we become federated with the Empire or recognized as an independent nation, Canada must stand as a whole, with a government neither French nor English, but Canadian. Our only ambition, as French Canadians, would be to have our legitimate share of influence therein. But what would that influence amount to were we left alone face to face with the situation, at the mercy of a majority frequently capricious, ever interested, and inevitably hostile?

The word "hostile" may here sound unjust and exaggerated. It is not a *lapsus calami*, however: I carefully weighed it before it fell from my pen. Let me explain: The hostility of which I speak does not mean the venomous hostility which fires those French-hating fanatics who are even now endeavoring to organize into a political party, a war-party I might say, to carry on a savage and incessant warfare against all that bears the name of French and Catholic. These fishers in troubled waters are too feeble before the liberal and generous feeling of the majority of the English population, to inspire us with any serious fears for our future. I do not even allude to that latent hostility, hypocritical or instinctive in origin, which does not result as the outcome of acknowledged principle or definite tactics, but which none the less exists to a great extent in social and business circles. It is this sentiment which claims for the English of Canada the title of "the superior race," and often betrays itself in that petty and self-satisfied air, impossible as it may seem, with which certain persons amongst us will actually plume themselves on an ignorance of the French language.

This hostility we fear no more than the other, for, given the time and place, we shall always victoriously dispose of it, backed by all that there is of intelligence and enlightenment among our countrymen of different descent. But I speak of that hostility which must ever exist from the very nature of things; that unreasoning hostility

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which led me, and my English playfellows, to shoulder each other off the sidewalk, which incited them to hail us as *Johnny Batistes* and us to call them *sacré Irlandais*, whenever we met in any "official" capacity; that hostility which arises from the distinctive character of two races that differ in religion, language, habits, customs, sympathies, aspirations and even in physical externals; that involuntary hostility which springs more from sensation than interest, that comes neither from the heart nor from the head, and which outleaps the boundaries of reason, because it dwells not in individuals but in the masses; that hostility, in short, which is born from the juxtaposition of two different nationalities on the same sod—like two lovers before the same woman—one of whom some day must win: a natural, fatal, inevitable and almost legitimate hostility, because it is the consequence of that universal law of nature, the struggle for life.

One may ask, Why should we fear Independence on account of these drawbacks, which after all are drawbacks we face from day to day under the existing conditions? The reply is that, slight as it may seem, the influence of England is really enormous in Canada. And, as England has a vital interest to keep peace within her colonies, this influence has so far been to us an element of safety which might be sorely missed and regretted once the tie that binds us to her has been undone or broken. It must be added that the French Canadians are neither blind nor indifferent to considerations of general importance which may affect the present and future welfare of the country as a whole, in such an event as its political freedom under a separate flag. We, as well as others, see our illimitable frontiers, as impossible to defend against the smuggler as against the invader; we see our commerce and industry more or less at the mercy of an all-powerful neighbor who, at any moment, might bring us to starvation by merely closing her doors; we understand that, owing to the existing difference of climate, the European emigration will ever more willingly flock towards the United States than towards us, and consequently that, whatever may be our efforts or achievements in material progress, we cannot but be enormously and perpetually distanced by the prodigious increase of the American Republic. And from all this, we conclude that to be neighbors under such conditions is for us to be forever condemned to a discouraging inferiority, with no alternative but that of bending the back and of throwing ourselves upon the generosity of our rivals, whenever any misunderstanding or conflict of interest may arise.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is, I know, nothing to strike a poetical fancy in all this. The word "Independence" has a general significance which appeals more eloquently to national pride; its sonority rings pleasantly on the ear; but serious-minded people, habituated to judge questions on their rival merit, are not led by sounds or sentiments. I must, however, acknowledge that some of the most prominent among them do not hesitate openly to advocate the idea of Independence, in spite of all possible objections; but, without questioning their sincerity for one moment, I have not the slightest doubt but that they do not follow such course without the mental reservation: "Let us be free first; we will trim our sails afterwards." This after all may be the most practical way of facing the question; but for those who, not having to deal with the matter as to "ways and means," wish only to realize the purely theoretical point, this *formule opportuniste*, as it might be termed in France, is not at all satisfactory. And the question still remains, "What would be left to our choice, when Imperial Federation is rejected and Permanent Independence acknowledged as impossible or dangerous?"

There is for me, and I am sure for the greater number of my compatriots, only one reasonable solution to the problem; that is, to accept the last of the three alternatives pointed out at the beginning of this article, a political union with the United States:—in the received newspaper-phrase, Annexation.

The term "Annexation" has for a long time been most unpopular among the French people of Canada. This arose from two reasons: the smouldering fire of old historical hatreds which so often stained with blood the battle-fields of the past, and the instinctive repugnance of the clergy for the word "Republic," which for them meant revolution, terror and every "social disorder." To this we may add prejudice skilfully and incessantly stirred up by public men interested in flattering the ultra-loyal sentiments of our English population. Of those three causes of antipathy, the first—the most serious—has entirely disappeared. The memory of the old quarrels has passed away; the murderous struggles of a former day are completely forgotten; even the name of *Bostonnais*, which, by reason of the long struggle, formerly called forth such antagonistic feeling amongst us, is not now heard once in a year throughout the length and breadth of the land. With it has disappeared also the name "Yankee," with its sordid or even contumelious significance. The generous and universal hospitality extended to eleven or twelve hundred thousand

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French Canadians living in the United States to-day has completely wiped out all traces of the old animosity. To-day one says "Americans," and that, with an open sense of sympathy and admiration.

The clergy on their side have considerably altered their opinion in respect to the United States. The great number of priests established in New England and especially in the great centres where French Canadian immigrants have gathered together, have contributed not a little to destroy the legend of the "social slough" and the *démagogie effrenée*. To-day, they know that religious persecution is not to be feared in any part of the Union; that on the contrary the Roman Catholic form of worship there enjoys the most complete liberty, that its priests are as highly considered and esteemed as in Canada, and that, in short, nothing prevents an American citizen from being as good a Catholic as any English subject. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the French Canadian priests who have remained at home have become Annexationists. Far from it. Some of them have; and, when the old prejudices are considered, when one sees others barely startled by the statement that all, or nearly all of their *confrères* who live in the United States are Annexationists, it must be admitted that the progress made is enormous. Will they venture farther? It is not impossible; but for those who understand how little attraction any new venture has for the Catholic clergy and their high regard for the proverb, *Un tiens vaut mieux que deux tu l'auras*,—"A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush"—will look upon it as at least questionable. But in any case, it is incontestable that, possibly as a result of the indifference more and more marked of the Catholic clergy touching this question, the people, without distinction of party, become day by day reconciled to an idea and a word which they had learned hitherto to repudiate without a second thought.

We may add that the political influence of the Canadian Catholic clergy is no longer what it once was. For many a long year this influence was omnipresent; it took upon itself to decide all questions, to think, read, write and vote for everyone; but "the pitcher that goes too often to the well——" In short, the clergy might even yet impede any great public measure by working against its acceptance, but they never would oppose it in any peremptory manner; they would not even make the attempt, for they are wise enough to know that in such an attempt they would be outflanked. They have already suffered checks, and all enlightened Catholics should rejoice at it, for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this clerical meddling in things purely temporal is ill-omened in any country, and must become a source of danger for us as for others.

So that, I repeat, the idea of Annexation has, during the last few years, made rapid progress with Canadians of French origin; the fact is that, even to-day, were they consulted on the question under conditions of absolute freedom, without any moral pressure from either side, I am certain that a considerable majority of Annexationists would result from the ballot. And this majority cannot but increase; for, in the same measure that the public mind is educated, that a closer union is established between the two countries, that the United States grow in greatness beside us, and that our internal difficulties, the necessary consequence of our organic defects, are complicated; our population cannot but be more and more struck by this fact of vital importance, that herein only may be found the solution of all the problems which render our position so trying, our footing so unstable and our future so uncertain. In fact, alliance with the States of the Union would with one sweep of the pen settle all those thorny questions which now embarrass us. At one stroke we should benefit by all the progress of our neighbors up to this point; we should enter into free commercial relations with a country of seventy millions of inhabitants; the lines uncomfortably strained which hold us in the wake of another people would be thrown off; we should have no more hatred or rivalry of faith or race; no longer conquerors ever looking upon us as the conquered; no longer any joint responsibility with any European nation; no longer any frontiers; no longer any possible wars; a single flag over the whole of North America, which then would be, not the holding of any particular nation, but the home of Humanity itself, the Empire of Peace, the richest and most powerful dominion of the Earth, under a democratic government having as its leading principle the recognition of the same rights and the imposition of the same duties among all its subjects, without question of the blood which flows in their veins or of the form in which they may choose to worship God.

And what are we called upon to give in exchange for this? For our British compatriots there must, it is true, be a sacrifice of those traditions, which, however, they would have to abandon sooner or later; but as for us, absolutely nothing! Who can fail to recognize that here is that which a great statesman so aptly termed "Manifest Destiny"?

LOUIS HONORÉ FRECHETTE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUNICIPAL SANITATION IN NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN.

In the article on "Municipal Sanitation in Washington and Baltimore," published in The Forum for August, special attention was called to the differences between the death-rates of the white and of the colored race, and to the importance of taking these into consideration in comparing the mortality of different districts in those cities for the purpose of estimating their relative sanitary condition. In studying the vital statistics of New York and Brooklyn, the race differences in the white population of different districts are also of great importance.

The figures of the Eleventh Census show that on June 1, 1890, New York had a population of 1,515,301, occupying 81,828 dwellings on 25,741 acres of ground, giving 58.87 persons to the acre, and 18.52 persons to a dwelling. At the same time, Brooklyn had a population of 806,343, occupying 82,282 dwellings on 18,084 acres, giving 44.59 persons to the acre and 9.80 persons to each dwelling. New York was, therefore, much the more densely populated of the two cities, although a larger proportion of the business population lived outside the city limits than was the case in Brooklyn. Of the population of New York, 25,674 were colored, including 1,970 Chinese. To distinguish race differences among the whites, the best means at our command is a classification by the birthplaces of the mothers. According to this, New York contained 334,725 Americans; 55,572 English and Welsh; 399,348 Irish; 19,627 Scotch; 16,239 French; 403,784 Germans; 80,235 Russians and Poles; 9,647 Canadians; 13,311 Scandinavians; 15,555 Hungarians; 12,287 Bohemians; 54,334 Italians, and 74,963 other foreigners, or persons of unknown race. New York has a larger Irish population than any city in Ireland, and, of German cities, only Berlin, Vienna and Hamburgh exceed it in number of German population. Brooklyn in 1890 contained 10,946 colored inhabitants; 268,097 Americans; 50,379 English and Welsh; 196,372 Irish; 14,195 Scotch; 4,777 French; 195,663 Germans; 7,581 Russians and Poles; 7,200 Cana-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dians; 21,178 Scandinavians; 896 Hungarians; 205 Bohemians; 12,454 Italians, and 16,400 other foreigners, or persons of unknown race.

New York, therefore, contained a greater proportion of Irish, French, Germans, Russians, Hungarians, Bohemians and Italians, than Brooklyn, while Brooklyn had the greater proportion of Americans, English, Scotch, Canadians, and Scandinavians. The number of persons in most of these groups is large enough to make the death-rates of the different groups fairly comparable, especially if these rates are taken, not for a single year, but for several successive years. During the sixteen years from 1875 to 1890 inclusive, the annual death-rate of New York, excluding still-births, varied from 31.3 to 23.4 per thousand, having been highest in 1881–82, and lowest in 1877–78. From 1886 to 1890, it fell from 27 to 26 per thousand. During the same period, the Brooklyn death-rate varied from 26.3 in 1875 to 21.0 in 1878; 25 in 1882, 22.6 in 1886, and 24.6 in 1890. The mortality decreased in New York and increased in Brooklyn from 1886 to 1890, but was always lower in Brooklyn.

For the year 1890, the death-rate of London was 20.8; of Paris, 24.9; of Berlin, 21.2; of Vienna, 25.2; of Brussels, 22.3; all being much below the New York death-rate. If approximate life-tables be calculated for New York and Brooklyn for the year ending May 31, 1890, it will be found that of a million white children born in Brooklyn, 511,049 would have been males, and 488,951 would have been females. If now these infants had been subjected throughout their lives to the same influences tending to produce death as were acting during the year referred to; at the end of the first year 386,589 males and 387,182 females would have survived, and at the end of the thirty-fourth year 242,478 males and 257,433 females would have remained alive; that is, more than half the males would have died before they became thirty-five years of age. In New York, the number of male infants would have been 514,545, of whom 379,630 would have survived the first year, and 270,569, or about half, would have been alive at the age of twenty-five. The expectation of life of a white male infant at birth was, in New York, 30.32; in Brooklyn, 32.88; in Baltimore, 37.01; and in the District of Columbia, 39.20 years. At the beginning of the twenty-fifth year of life, the expectation of life of a white male in New York was 29.31; in Brooklyn, 32.04; in the District of Columbia, 34.50, and in Baltimore, 35.82 years.

Turning now to the death-rates in different wards and districts,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we find that in New York the annual mortality varied from less than fifteen to more than forty-five per thousand, and in Brooklyn from less than fifteen to more than forty per thousand. The causes of these great differences in the mortality cannot be fully ascertained from the statistical data at our command; but some important indications are discoverable. In Washington and Baltimore, a considerable part of the differences in different districts is due to the different proportions of the white and colored populations in them; in New York, a considerable part is due to the different proportions of Irish, Germans, Russians, Italians, *etc.*, in the different localities. The high death-rate in both New York and Brooklyn is due largely to the high death-rate among the Irish, because of the comparatively large number of this class of the population; although the death-rate of the Bohemians and Italians was higher than that of the Irish, because of the higher mortality among the Bohemian and Italian children. For persons of fifteen years of age and upward, the average annual death-rates during the six years above referred to were as follows: In New York, Irish, 28.0; colored, 23.6; Scotch, 21.9; English, 20.8; Bohemians, 20.3; French, 17.9; Germans, 17.0; Canadians, 16.7; Americans, 15.9; Scandinavians, 13.4; Italians, 12.3; Hungarians, 8.5; Russians and Poles, 6.21. In Brooklyn, Bohemians, 31.8; Irish, 22.7; English, 17.0; Scotch, 16.4; Germans, 15.5; French, 14.4; Canadians, 14.3; Americans, 13.9; Scandinavians, 9.1; Italians, 7.9; Russians and Poles, about 5.4; Hungarians, 5.2. These great differences in race death-rates are of much interest and importance, and they go far toward explaining the comparatively low death-rate in certain crowded tenement-house districts, as for example in the seventh, tenth and thirteenth wards in New York, which are inhabited largely by Russian and Polish Jews. The low death-rate of the Jewish race has been known for a long time; it does not fully appear in these figures, because a considerable number of those whose mothers were born in Hungary and Germany are of this race, with low death-rates. If it were possible to separate them, the death-rate of the Germans would stand at a much higher figure.

This low death-rate of the Jewish race, under circumstances of poverty, overcrowding, want of fresh air, and uncleanliness of various kinds, is not only a matter of great scientific interest to the physician and sanitarian, but it is of great sociological importance. It must not, however, be supposed that the unsanitary conditions of tenement-house life have no effect upon the Jews. Comparing the death-rates

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Russians and Poles with those of more than sixty thousand Jews of the better classes, as given in Census Bulletin No. 19, we find that for persons under fifteen years of age the death-rates were, for the Russians and Poles in New York City, 28.67; for the Jews throughout the country, 9.90. This last figure is probably too low; but it is perhaps safe to say that the death-rate of the New York tenement-house Jewish children under fifteen years of age is double that of Jewish children of the same ages throughout the country living under more favorable conditions.

The heavy death-rate of Irish adults in New York is so important in the study of the sanitary conditions of the city, and of means to improve them, that a few more figures are given, even at the risk of wearying the reader. The death-rate of married men from fifteen to forty-five years of age was for the Irish 23.7, and for the Germans 13.1; and of married women of the same ages, for the Irish 23.9, and for the Germans 10.8. For single men from fifteen to forty-five years of age, the death-rate was for the Irish 20.9, for the Germans 11.0; and for single women of the same ages, for the Irish 10.1 and for the Germans 5.0. This means that for these ages the death-rate of the Irish was nearly double that of the Germans for both the married and single of each sex. Taking persons of forty-five years of age and upward, the death-rate of the married men was for the Irish, 44.0, for the Germans, 36.9; of the single men, Irish, 82.8, Germans, 65.6; of the married women, Irish, 44.2, Germans, 25.0; of the single women, Irish, 57.2, Germans, 46.8. At ages under forty-five, therefore, the death-rate of the married was greater than that of the single, while above that age the reverse was the case.

If upon a map of New York City be indicated the average annual death-rate of each ward and sanitary district during the six years ending May 31, 1890—as has been done for a special report, soon to be published, made to the Superintendent of the Census, by whose permission certain data given therein are used in this paper—it will be seen that the heaviest death-rates occurred in the low-lying water-side districts of Wards 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 18, 20 and 22, and in portions of Wards 12, 14 and 15. In the districts under twenty feet in average altitude, the death-rate was 31.5; for the children under five years of age, 118.6. In the districts from twenty to forty feet high, it was 28.3; for children under five years of age, 110.6. In the districts from forty to sixty feet high, it was 24.8; for children under five years of age, 100.6; and in the districts from eighty to one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hundred feet high, it was 17.9; for children under five years of age, 74.5. The same gradation is found in Brooklyn. But the ancient topography of these two cities is of special interest in connection with the death-rates of certain districts. The old marshes and streams, which have been filled in or covered so long that very few remember their existence, still indicate their effects on the mortality of their ancient sites, especially in the death-rates from malarial fevers, pneumonia and diarrhœal diseases, as will be seen by comparing the shaded maps with the old map in the report mentioned above.

The relations between density of population and death-rates in different districts in New York are complicated by the differences in the race and age distribution of the population in these districts, which require careful consideration to avoid the fallacies that the use of the mere gross rates would inevitably lead to. Some of the most crowded districts are occupied by Jews having a very low death-rate, or by a population in which the number of adults is relatively large, and give a lower death-rate than those in which the number of children is proportionately greater. If we take the native-born, of native-born parents, or the Americans, we find that the death-rates are: in the districts having less than one hundred persons to the acre, 21.8; in those having from one hundred to two hundred to the acre, 31.0; in those having from two hundred to three hundred to the acre, 34.1, and in those having more than three hundred to the acre, 43.1. It would be an error, however, to conclude from this that the increased density of population alone produced the increased mortality. The native-born Americans who are found in the crowded tenement-house districts are those who have failed of success because of physical weakness, intemperance, indolence, *etc.;* they are largely the *dégenerés* of our people, and in a tenement-house district their death-rate, and especially the death-rate of their children, is usually higher than that of any other race, except that of the Irish for the adults and that of the Italians for the children.

What are the causes of the heavy death-rate among the Irish? The most prominent are consumption, pneumonia, and alcoholism and its consequences, in the form of diseases of the arteries and of the digestive organs and the kidneys. In each 100,000 persons of each race living in New York during the six years ending May 31, 1890, consumption caused annually 774 deaths among the colored, 646 among the Irish, 329 among the Germans, 325 among the French, 205 among the Americans, and 98 among the Russian and Polish Jews.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Brooklyn during the same period the corresponding rates were, colored, 531; Irish, 453; Germans, 296; French, 253; Americans, 181; and Russians and Poles, 77. For all England, the death-rate from consumption in 1890 was 168.2 in 100,000; in Dublin it was 390 in 100,000. These are terribly significant figures, and it is evident that the enormous mortality from consumption among the negroes and the Irish is not due solely to poverty or overcrowding. During the same period, alcoholism caused, in each 100,000 persons of each race in New York, 31 deaths annually among the Irish, 10 among the Germans, 9 among the Americans, 6 among the colored, 3 among the Italians, and 1 among the Russians and Poles; and Bright's disease caused 142 deaths among the Irish, 67 among the Germans, 54 among the Americans, 27 among the Italians, and 18 among the Russians and Poles. For all England, the death-rate in 100,000 from alcoholism during 1890 was 7, and from Bright's disease, 25. On the other hand, the death-rates from measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and other children's diseases are comparatively low among the Irish and high among the Americans.

Both New York and Brooklyn have well-organized health departments, which employ a large number of inspectors, and the tenement-house class of the population is as carefully looked after as it is in any city. Each city has a sufficient, though not a superabundant, supply of good drinking-water, which there is no reason to suppose has conveyed specific causes of disease. During the six years ending May 31, 1890, the average annual death-rate from typhoid fever in 100,000 of population was, for New York 24.27; Brooklyn, 23.13; Baltimore, 40.17; Washington, 75.55. Both New York and Brooklyn are sewered cities, but many of the New York sewers are of faulty construction and in places are too level, or are leaky and pollute the soil; nevertheless, there is no evidence that the condition of the sewers in any locality has had any special influence upon the death-rates, except in so far as the soil-drainage is influenced thereby. The average annual death-rate in 100,000 of population from malarial fever was 24.62 in New York and 32.62 in Brooklyn, being specially high in the low-lying waterside districts. The corresponding rate in Baltimore was 41.51, and in Washington 44.44. Each city has fair hospital accommodation for cases of contagious disease, and a disinfecting plant at the command of the health department. The death-rate from diphtheria and croup has increased within the last fifteen years; during the six years ending May 31, 1890, it was,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for each 100,000 of population, in New York, 181.63; in Brooklyn, 164.42; in Baltimore, 80.13; in Washington, 59.64. The corresponding death-rate from scarlet fever was 52.19 in New York, 42.48 in Brooklyn, 13.11 in Baltimore, and 21.69 in Washington. Diphtheria, diarrhœal diseases, consumption and pneumonia, taken together, gave an annual death-rate of 11.8 in New York and of 9.8 in Brooklyn per thousand of population, and all of these are more or less preventable diseases.

It is a question of great practical interest and importance as to how far the defective cleansing of the streets, which at times prevails, has an influence upon the death-rate. That accumulations of decaying organic matter in the streets tend to increase the prevalence of certain diseases, especially when these accumulations become dry and pulverized and are blown about in the form of dust, may be accepted as a fact; but it is at present impossible to demonstrate it by statistics. The death-rate from diseases of the respiratory organs is greatest in New York in January and March, and a large proportion of these diseases is due to dust-borne micro-organisms; but cold also has its influence, and at present we cannot estimate the relative importance of the two, though we can control the dust of the streets much more easily than we can control temperature and winds.

The death-rates of certain low-lying districts in New York and Brooklyn can certainly be diminished by engineering methods directed toward securing better soil-drainage and less soil-pollution, and this is true especially of the malarial death-rates. It seems probable that to effect a substantial lowering of the mortality in the great majority of those districts in which it is more than twenty-two per thousand annually, it will be necessary to make a careful study of race peculiarities—with special reference to the liability to such diseases as consumption and pneumonia on the part of the Irish adults, and to certain other forms of disease on the part of the German and Italian children—with a view to devising special means of prevention, adapted to the habits and customs of these different peoples. For example, if we take the average death-rate of a thousand children under fifteen years of age for the six years ending May 31, 1890, we find that it was for the Bohemians, in New York, 82.6, in Brooklyn, 90.9; for the Italians, in New York, 76.4, in Brooklyn, 53.6; for the Scandinavians, in New York, 57.3, in Brooklyn, 45.5; for the Irish, in New York, 50.9, in Brooklyn, 43.8; for the Germans, in New York, 47.0, in Brooklyn, 44.3; and for the white Ameri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cans, in New York, 54.0, in Brooklyn, 45.8. The heavy death-rate among the Bohemian children was due largely to diphtheria, diarrhœal diseases, and convulsions; that among the Italian children was caused by measles, diarrhœal diseases and diseases of the lungs, which last caused twenty-four deaths per thousand among them in New York, while the corresponding rate for Americans was 10.0; for the Irish, 9.6; for the Germans, 8.5; and for the French, 6.9.

In one race, the food seems to be a prominent cause of extremely heavy death-rates in infancy and childhood; in another, foul air appears to be specially pernicious. Scarlet fever is much more fatal among English, Canadian and American children than it is among the French and Italians. Tubercular meningitis is twice as fatal among the Bohemians as it is among other nationalities. This is not the place to discuss details of this sort, and I give these few specimens merely to show why it appears to me that one of the most important steps which can be taken toward lowering the death-rates in New York and Brooklyn is to obtain accurate information with regard to the death-rates of the different races in different parts of these cities, and the causes of the great differences which will be found in them. The health departments possess a part of the information requisite, in the form of the records of deaths; but they do not possess the corresponding information, with regard to the living population which furnishes these deaths, to enable them to calculate the death-rates in the details which are required to settle the difficult questions which arise. They must know for each unit of area which they select, whether it be ward, district, or tenement-house, not merely the number of inhabitants, but the number of each sex, of each race, of each of certain groups of ages, as for example, under one, under five, from five to fifteen, from fifteen to forty-five, from forty-five to sixty-five, and from sixty-five upward. This information should be obtained by the municipal authorities at least once in the interval between the United States censuses of 1890 and 1900, and it would be best to date it on January 1, 1895. Such a municipal census, with the compilation of the data, would cost the city of New York about one hundred thousand dollars; and if the work were properly done, it would be the best investment of that amount of money which the city could possibly make.

It is probable that a considerable part of the extremely heavy death-rates from consumption and pneumonia in New York is due to certain houses and apartments that contain an unusually large num-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ber of the micro-organisms which cause these diseases; for the majority of cases of pneumonia appear to be due to micro-organisms. A room in which there have lived two or three persons affected with consumption, who have taken no precautions to disinfect their sputa, becomes an infected room. The dust containing the spores of the bacillus of tubercle is scattered in the air by the processes of sweeping and dusting, and much of it settles on the ledges over windows and doors, on the beds, on the walls, to be again displaced by air-currents or dusting, and some of it to be inhaled. A room in which there has been a case of scarlet fever, or of diphtheria or spotted typhus, is carefully cleansed and disinfected. But one in which there have been a dozen cases of consumption is not thus treated, no matter how dirty it may be, since the existing laws and regulations do not require it; and public opinion as yet would hardly justify the health department in demanding and enforcing it.

If the records of the Registrar of Vital Statistics for the last six years were examined for all the deaths from consumption which have occurred in New York in the second, fourth, fourteenth and fifteenth wards, including the deaths in hospitals of persons coming from these wards, and locating each case by street and number of house, I have no doubt that the death-record of certain houses for consumption would be found to be ten or fifteen times greater than that of others, and that certain foci of infection might thus be located with considerable precision. The record could be carried back only a few years, because it has not been customary to charge the deaths occurring in hospitals to the houses from which the patients came. The practical difficulty in the way of obtaining such definite, accurate information as is required to deal efficiently with the foci of infection of consumption, pneumonia, and diarrhœal diseases, is one of expense.

One object of this paper is to explain to intelligent citizens, not only of New York and Brooklyn, but of all other large cities, that this detailed and classified information about deaths in different localities, at different ages, from different causes, in different races, is desired not merely to satisfy the idle curiosity of a few speculative philosophers or physicians, but to locate the great leaks through which the health, energy, life and money of the community are being wasted, in order that the remedies may be applied in the right direction, and at the right spots, and that the cost and labor of really practical, useful municipal sanitation may thus be made as small as possible.

JOHN S. BILLINGS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT A DAILY NEWSPAPER MIGHT BE MADE.

In requesting an article, constructive rather than critical, upon the subject that stands at the head of these lines, the Editor of The Forum has proposed to me a problem that admits of hardly more than a general and somewhat tentative solution within the limits of a magazine discussion. No solution indeed, merely worked out on paper, would be likely to have a very definitive character. Such a problem is to be really worked out in the office rather than the study, in the world of men and of things rather than in the world of abstract ideas. Day by day, and year by year, its various phases must be put to the test of practical application; new hypotheses must be framed to cover new and unexpected facts; new methods must be devised to meet imperative new emergencies. The *a priori* road in this matter is full of pitfalls, and he who ventures upon it is sure to incur, and is likely to deserve, the reproach that attaches to the doctrinaire. Yet it seems to me desirable that the venture should, from time to time, be made; that some sort of preliminary survey of the ground and plan of the campaign must necessarily precede any serious attempt to work out the problem in reality.

Men of intelligence everywhere are profoundly dissatisfied with the American daily newspaper; they believe it to be both vulgar and dishonest, and they find that these qualities have grown increasingly prominent of recent years. They put up with it as it is, for the newspaper is one of the necessaries of civilized life; but they protest against its indecencies, and heartily wish for its reform. The question of choosing a newspaper for family reading is, in most of our large cities, that of choosing what is least objectionable—this is the form in which the question is instinctively put. In what I have just said, or may say in the course of this article, I hope I shall not be considered unduly harsh. The usefulness of the daily paper, even as we have it, is so obvious that it does not need to be insisted upon. I admit, once for all, that our worst modern newspapers are vastly better than none at all; that the positive achievement of American journalism is immensely valuable. But this fact does not lessen the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weight of the charges brought against it by the consensus of intelligent and cultivated readers.

It is maintained that these charges take the form of merely destructive criticism, that they are too often unaccompanied with any recommendations of a serviceable character. This claim is, to a certain extent, well-founded, yet not so well as would at first appear. Most of the charges that may fairly be brought against newspapers are of the nature of the "don'ts" in the books of etiquette; they instance shortcomings for which the atonement is implied in the form of the accusation. Don't lie, don't use illiterate English, don't pander to the tastes of the depraved—such criticism is at once destructive and constructive. Indeed, a reform upon such merely negative lines would go far toward accomplishing all that is aimed at by the censor. To strip these imperatives of their negative, transforming them into the corresponding positive injunctions, is an easy matter. This work must play an important part in the performance of the task assigned me, although it may be supplemented by a few suggestions of the directly constructive sort.

Let us briefly consider the aims that the directors of a daily newspaper may reasonably be required to keep in view. In an article published elsewhere, I made the following fundamental classification of the duties incumbent upon any newspaper conducted upon a high ethical plane:

1. As a collector of news, pure and simple, its work should be done in the scientific spirit, placing accuracy of statement above all other considerations.

2. In its selection and arrangement of the news thus collected, it should have regard to real rather than sensational values; it should present its facts in their proper perspective (which is still, of course, a very different perspective from that required by permanent history); and it should carefully exclude, or at least minimize to the utmost, those facts which it cannot possibly benefit the public to know, or of which the knowledge is likely to vulgarize popular taste and lower popular standards of morality.

3. In its comment upon the happenings of the day or the week, it is bound to be honest, to stand for well-defined principles, to express the sincere convictions of its intellectual head and of those associated with him in the work.

In setting forth these aims at the start, and insisting upon them throughout, I am simply taking certain of the firmly-established in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ductions of ethics, and applying them to a particular case. This is the approved procedure of all scientific investigation, and it cannot be maintained that I am following the strictly *a priori* method unless it is also asserted that ethical considerations have no bearing upon the conduct of a newspaper.

The first of the foregoing considerations, to take them in the order given, is simply an insistence upon truthfulness in all the departments of a newspaper. There are three principal reasons why the majority of our newspapers are not truthful: they are infected by prejudice and the partisan spirit, they are written by men of deficient education, and they are so eager to say something of the latest happenings that they print fictitious accounts when it is inconvenient or impossible to get accurate reports.

The partisan spirit probably does more than anything else to weaken the hold of the newspaper upon thoughtful persons. Blind adherence to the shifting "principles" of some political party will lead a newspaper into self-stultification so obvious that it cannot really impose upon even its less intelligent readers. A newspaper, to be avowedly partisan, must abandon self-respect altogether, must be ready to argue in turn, and with equal glibness, that the cloud is like a camel, and a weasel, and a whale, must stand at the beck of some group of conscienceless politicians, and must pretend to glory in its shame. No half-way course in this matter is practicable, no attempt to stand for both principle and party: the effect of such an attempt is amusingly illustrated by the Chicago daily which has, for many years past, sought to advocate both comparative freedom of trade and the policy of the Republican party. That most of our newspapers are dominated by the party spirit is a fact so generally recognized as to need no evidential confirmation.

The ideal newspaper, then, whatever it may be, will not be the organ of a party, nor will it bid, directly or indirectly, for job-lots of votes. Of course I do not mean that it may not act with some party for a time, perhaps for a period of years, when that party stands for some definite principle of economics or political theory. There have been many times in the history of our country when all the dictates of patriotism and the spirit of truth compelled honest newspapers to associate themselves with the work of some particular party. But when, as has more than once been the case in our political history, such a party finds its work accomplished and follows after strange and unworthy gods, no honest newspaper will continue to do

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its bidding; every such paper will always hold itself ready to turn upon its quondam party ally when that ally forsakes the high road of principle for the devious by-paths of trickery, corruption, and deceit.

If the ideal newspaper will not weaken its influence by partisan attachments, still less will it do so by the exhibition of personal prejudice. In this respect the best of our papers at times fail, relying upon their power to injure a private reputation, and forgetting to take into account the injury done to their own reputation in the opinion of all who know the facts of the case, or who are clear-sighted enough to perceive the underlying element of malice or of spite. What is in many respects the best of the Chicago dailies thus allows its influence to be largely weakened by frequent vindictive displays of personal animosity. Every reader who recognizes the animus of some such display naturally puts to himself the question: "How can I, knowing the paper to be intentionally dishonest in its treatment of this subject, give it my confidence when it treats of matters of which I am ignorant, and concerning which I expect its guidance in forming an intelligent opinion?"

One who is in the habit of reading many newspapers cannot fail to be impressed by the ignorance that is so frequently displayed. It is evident that many subjects are discussed by writers who know nothing about them. I remember reading, several years ago, a special article about ozone, placed conspicuously in one of our large dailies. The article, although brief, contained half-a-dozen of the grossest errors—errors of an elementary sort, such as any boy of common-school education should be ashamed of making. The instance is trivial enough, and I should not mention it were it not typical of hundreds of others; I merely happen to remember it a little more distinctly than the rest. Every close reader of newspapers comes across something of the sort almost daily, something which confirms him in the belief that "newspaper science" and "newspaper history" are not to be taken much more seriously than "newspaper politics." And, if the newspaper thus grossly errs on the subject with which the individual reader happens to be familiar, it is but natural that he should refuse to accept, without careful verification, its statements upon other subjects. Here again, the way of reform is clear. The work of newspaper-writing should be done by educated men, each one of whom should be chosen with reference to special fitness for his special work.

Most readers turn to the morning newspaper for an account,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among other things, of meetings or other occurrences of the day before in which they may have taken part. How often does a reader find such accounts free from statements which he absolutely knows to be untrue? How often does he find a speaker's words reported without being perverted beyond recognition? How often does he find a programme reproduced as it was actually given, or a list of guests including only the names of people who were really present? We all know how such accounts are written, how a reporter drops in for a few minutes, gets a few facts from some bystander, guesses at a few more, and prepares what pretends to be the report of an eye-witness of the whole proceedings. The Congresses held in Chicago during the past summer offered a ludicrous illustration of this sort of journalistic slop-work. Day after day the papers informed us that such and such distinguished persons made addresses and were present at social receptions, when, in point of fact, they had not been in the city at all. There is absolutely nothing to be said in defence of such slipshod journalism as this, and there is no need to point out the perfectly obvious remedy.

The failure of the daily newspaper to realize the second of our three fundamental aims is very conspicuous. The question of the proper perspective to be given the news of the day is a difficult one, and the principles that should govern the matter do not admit of precise formulation. The perspective is, as I have already said, different from that required by permanent history, and the question is further complicated by the claims of local affairs upon the editor's space. Local affairs must take the precedence, and much that will be forgotten a week later still deserves to be chronicled in full to-day. The distinction between real and sensational values is, however, of much importance, and the influence of a paper for good will largely depend upon the care with which this distinction is made. Crimes and scandals must be chronicled, but they should be chronicled in the briefest possible way, and with as little display as possible. A New York paper which is a conspicuous sinner in this matter regaled the readers of its first page, one morning last December, with accounts of nine murders and four attempts at murder, six suicides, fourteen fatal accidents, and half-a-dozen miscellaneous crimes, all of these happenings being described in twenty-eight special articles, each having descriptive and occasionally jocose headlines. The ideal newspaper of the future will certainly avoid this sort of sensationalism; it will refuse to print columns minutely descriptive of the lynching

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of some Southern negro; it will, if some transatlantic journalist shall see fit to recount his explorations of a new "modern Babylon," refuse to receive the foul matter from the cables, to spread it broadcast over a land which it cannot possibly concern.

In its accomplishment of the third of our fundamental aims, the newspaper for which we are looking will have an editorial page that will compel attention, that will really give its readers the guidance they have a right to expect. By means of this page the paper will fulfil the high function of a leader of public opinion, a function practically abdicated by the majority of our existing newspapers. The editorial page is really the most important part of a paper, and upon it should be focussed the best intellectual forces at the editor's command. One of the most noteworthy signs of the process of newspaper degradation that recent years have witnessed has been the steady deterioration of the editorial page. Only a few of the large newspapers have kept up the time-honored practice of serious leader-writing; with the rest, editorials have dwindled into paragraphs, sounding the drone of the party politician or the flippant strain of the would-be humorist.

A word must be said of the important editorial departments devoted to current literature, the drama, music, and art. It goes without saying that each of these departments should be in charge of a competent specialist, of a writer who can speak with authority upon the subject. Whether or not these writers should sign their work is a vexed question; I am inclined to think that the weightier arguments are on the side of anonymity. But the practice of unsigned special criticism leads to a great abuse when it lends the editorial weight of the paper to the unfledged opinions of incompetent writers. Too many newspapers act upon the theory that anyone who commands a plausible style and a few catch-words will do well enough for a literary, or dramatic, or musical critic. There are no positions upon the entire staff of a newspaper for which men should be selected with greater care or with closer inquiry into their special qualifications. To those who know the inside workings of newspaper-offices, there are few things more amusing than the unceremonious manner in which writers are shifted about from one kind of special work to another, the way in which men are detailed to review books or criticise musical performances merely because they have nothing else to do on some particular day or evening. To the literary editor falls one of the most important tasks in the whole range of newspaper pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duction. He should be an editor in fact as well as in name. In other words, he should be empowered to command the services of outside reviewers for a considerable proportion of the books that come into his hands. He may, of course, do much writing himself, but the man never lived who could perform acceptably the duties usually required of a literary editor. However wide a man's range may be, it cannot include more than a small fraction of the subjects upon which books are written. The literary editor who is expected to do all the literary criticism himself is bound to fail in one of two ways: he will either write upon the books that he understands and ignore the others, or he will cultivate a rhetorical and superficial style, equally applicable to all kinds of literature, but which can neither instruct, expound, nor illuminate. The main fault of musical and dramatic criticism is its easy tolerance of the mediocre and the worthless, resulting from the critic's intercourse with managers and performers, and his desire to please them all alike. To have any value at all, criticism must be instructive, and to be that, it must be the work of men not only intellectually competent, but in every way independent. The besetting sin of art criticism is verbiage. Only the newspapers in a few cities, where exhibitions are held, and where there are flourishing colonies of painters, need to have art-critics at all. This is perhaps fortunate, for good criticism of art is one of the rarest of commodities.

The ideal newspaper of the future will have an important editorial department devoted to the general subject of education, and particularly to local educational work. When we consider the importance of the American public school system, and the immense sacrifices everywhere willingly made for its maintenance, it is simply amazing that the newspapers should leave it practically unnoticed. Instead of the calm and continuous expert scrutiny and criticism of our public schools that we have a right to expect from the newspapers, they give us a few perfunctory articles at the beginning and end of the year, a few meagre reports of meetings of the Board of Education, an occasional complaint of extravagant expenditure, and an occasional outburst of ignorant and splenetic fault-finding. The splendid work recently done for public school education by THE FORUM is the kind of work that our newspapers should be doing all the time, under the direction of an educational editor, a man of scientific attainments and authority in his profession.

The newspaper for which intelligent men are crying out will not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be illustrated, except for a few cuts of diagrams, sketch-maps, and other necessary adjuncts to the text. The experiment of making daily picture-papers has been fairly tried, and it has proved a failure. The illustrations do not illustrate, and they are unsightly in the extreme. It is not probable that any satisfactory process of illustration will ever be adapted to the rapid methods of newspaper printing. The sensational headlines of the current newspapers, defiant of both taste and grammar, will depart with the pictures to the limbo wherein are to be gathered all the unhallowed devices of the barbarous age of journalism. The offensive type of interviewer will have to go, and he who violates the privacies of life in less frank and unblushing ways; and with them will go the jargon called "reportorial" English—thus fitly styled in its own base dialect. The reporter, indeed, who writes for the reformed newspaper, will be a scholar—which now he is not often, and a gentleman—which now he is frequently not permitted to be.

Two incidents from my own experience will serve to illustrate the necessity of these reforms. A distinguished Englishman, who recently visited this country, and who was subjected to the process of interviewing wherever he went, expressed to me his surprise at the ignorance displayed by those who sought to interview him. "None of them seemed to know anything," he said; "I had to explain to them the simplest matters." The other incident is this: A young friend of mine, fresh from college, came to the city bent upon journalism. He wanted to be a reporter on one of the large dailies, and I obtained for him such a position. A few weeks afterward, I asked the editor how the young man was doing. He said, "I should like to keep him, but am afraid I shall have to let him go." And he added regretfully, "The fact is, he is too much of a gentleman, and a gentleman cannot do the work we require of a reporter." I should not cite these incidents if I did not believe them to be of typical significance; and if they are, what a commentary they suggest upon the practice of American journalism! The motto of Thackeray's imaginary "Pall Mall Gazette"—"a journal written by gentlemen for gentlemen"—is, in spite of its priggish suggestion, a better working formula for a newspaper than any which makes possible such an incident as that last narrated.

To carry out the suggestions made or implied in all that has been said would require the fulfilment of but very few conditions. Purity of motive, knowledge, and ability to write the English language are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the prime qualifications to be required of all concerned in the intellectual, as distinguished from the business, management of such a newspaper as I have attempted to describe. These things are all to be had, as well as the executive genius necessary for their control and direction. The "practical" journalist tells us that a newspaper planned upon such lines could not pay expenses. But are there not a few newspapers, both in England and America, that come very near to the requirements I have exacted, and are yet commercially successful? Their examples at least show that clean and intelligent journalism is not necessarily a failure. But if a still more convincing illustration is desired, how shall it be furnished? By what means shall the American public receive the great and much-needed Object Lesson in journalism? It may be done, in the first place, by purchasing some established paper, placing it in the hands of a body of experienced and large-minded men, increasing its expenses to whatever extent may be necessary to accomplish the desired end, and taking the chances of ultimate commercial success.

The London "Morning Herald," one of the best-known English papers of the last generation, once had a curious experience. A quarrel among its proprietors led to an effort to force one of them to retire. To bring about this result, his partners ordered all the profits of the paper, which were considerable, to be spent upon its development. Salaries were doubled, high-priced correspondents were engaged, and costly methods of news-collecting were adopted. But the circulation of the paper grew so rapidly in consequence of these measures that it came to surpass that of the "Times," and the profits, which it was confidently expected would sink to nothing, so increased out of all proportion to the expenditure, that the proprietors gave up in despair, sold the paper for three times its former value, and settled their quarrel by dividing the money. Possibly some such result as this might follow a similar experiment with an American newspaper. But if it be thought best to make the experiment *de novo*, so that the record may be clear from the start, I think that the outlook for the capital invested (necessarily large in amount) would not be altogether hopeless, although it must be admitted that the public taste has become so vitiated by bad newspapers that it would be slow to recognize and support a good one. A great newspaper might be established and maintained by endowment, just as great universities are so established and maintained. The analogy between the two undertakings is very close; with a suitable endowment forth-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coming, there appears to be no reason why a Delane should not be found to accomplish for a newspaper what President Jordan and President Harper have accomplished for the great new universities of the West.

The endowment plan, whatever may be thought of it from other points of view, would have the inestimable advantage of doing away with the unceasing conflict between editorial conduct and business management, and thus with the tap-root of the whole evil. The editor of a newspaper, however independent he may be, cannot wholly escape the influence of the counting-room, exerted openly or insidiously. Many an editor does not produce as good a paper as he knows how to, or would produce if he dared. From the counting-room come all sorts of suggestions intended to influence the editorial conduct of the paper, suggestions of personal puffery, of sensational devices, of the expediency of attracting or placating particular interests. Of the counting-room is the dishonorable practice of paid "reading-matter," of advertisements disguised as editorial utterances. Few editors, however free their hand, can wholly fail to be influenced by these promptings, which take the most insidious forms. Whatever the plan of the ideal newspaper, it must at least hold out the prospect of real editorial independence.

That journalism is, that it must be, a profession, appears to me so clear that I do not see how the statement can be questioned. Its work is closely allied to that of the educator and the clergyman, in certain aspects to that of the lawyer. That it is often degraded to the level of a business enterprise, that it falls into the hands of persons who ignore its relations to the public welfare, means simply that it fails to recognize the responsibilities inherent in its very nature. But from those responsibilities there is no honorable way for the journalist to escape, any more than there is for the physician and the clergyman to escape from the responsibilities of their respective callings. The physician who violates the ethical code of his profession is called a quack, the lawyer a shyster, and the clergyman a mountebank. Why should not the journalist who violates the code of his profession equally lose caste? With every political campaign we hear of newspapers being bought by the agents of political parties. Why should the public not reprobate such an act, as it would reprobate the purchase of a judge or a legislator? We have recently been told that a syndicate of Western silver mine-owners contemplated the purchase of a New York daily for the purpose of converting it into an agent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for their colossal scheme of national repudiation. What should we say if we were told that a syndicate of Mormons contemplated the purchase of Plymouth Church (the services of its pastor presumably included), that they might use it for the propagation of their peculiar doctrines? Yet if newspapers were what they ought to be, the one suggestion would seem no more monstrous than the other.

My final word, then, in this discussion would be (and it is but the essence of the many that have gone before) that the ideal newspaper of the future will recognize, in all its relations to the public, a code of ethics no less defined and no less stringent than those recognized in the other professions. "I cannot say," to borrow Mr. Ruskin's phrase concerning such a newspaper as I have attempted to foreshadow, "whether it would ever pay well to sell it; but I am sure it would pay well to read it, and to read no other."

WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ALIENATION OF CHURCH AND PEOPLE.

We are living in the ebb-time of the Christian Church. The Church is ruled by dogmaticians, ecclesiastics and traditionalists. But their day is almost over. There is that profound dissatisfaction with the present state of things, that intense longing for better things, that anxious quest for something higher, that readiness to follow anyone who seems to have something new, which herald the approach of a new era.

(1) The Church has lost the confidence of the people in its ability to teach them the truth. The Church ought to be in the van of knowledge—for it is endowed with the Holy Spirit, the guide into all the truth. Theology in olden times was rightly regarded as the queen of the sciences. But theology no longer reigns, she has not kept pace with the progress of knowledge. She has pursued her own independent way. She has waged war with science and philosophy and has been defeated in so many battles that science and philosophy have gone on before her and left her in the rear. The Roman Catholic theology is too mediæval. The Protestant theology is too much that of the seventeenth century. Even the more advanced types of Protestantism have become stereotyped in the doctrines and methods of the eighteenth century. The theology of the denominations is therefore apart from the learning of our times, confined for the most part to the office-bearers of these denominations, and of no value or importance to the people. There is a Christian theology which has appropriated in a measure the results of modern thought. But this theology is taught by a few individual teachers, and its adherents are found among a liberal minority in the denominations, who have to contend against imputations of heresy and heterodoxy. The denominations still adhere, in the main, to the traditional theology which the majority insist upon as the true orthodoxy, and they resist stoutly all changes and improvements.

These have been the inevitable results of such traditionalism and lack of faith in the guidance of the Holy Spirit. The official teaching of the denominations is apart from the thought of the age.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Therefore those who have been trained in the thought of the age, the whole class of learned men, are out of sympathy with the theology of the denominations. How can a man of science have any patience with the doctrine of creation and the theories of miracles and prophecy which are commonly taught in theological schools and from the Christian pulpits? How can a man who has been trained in modern psychology, metaphysics and ethics fail to be repelled by the crude philosophy that underlies the dogmas of the systems of theology which are regarded as the standards of orthodoxy? How can such a man look with complacency upon the battle over the doctrine of original sin between creationism and traducianism, or the discussion of the freedom of the will? How can he engage to dishonor the reason, to divest himself of his conscience, or to assent to the unethical dogma of immediate sanctification, whether in this life or in any other life? How can the man who has been trained in modern historical investigation accept the traditional denominational history, with so many spurious claims that will not bear the strain of historical criticism? How can the man who has been trained in modern philology and in the classic literatures do otherwise than refuse his confidence to those denominations which are loud in their hostility to the literary criticism of Holy Scripture? Denominational systems of dogma which shrink from the fellowship of science, philosophy, history and literature, forfeit thereby the respect and confidence of all those who pursue the paths of scholarly investigation. It is not strange that so large a proportion of scholarly men are out of sympathy with the Church. It is a marvel that the denominations retain so large a proportion of scholars in their communion.

The situation is relieved to a considerable extent by the modern theory that only the office-bearers are responsible for the tenets of the denomination. The tenets of the denominations are seldom in these days brought to the attention of the Christian people. Denominational dogmas are to a great extent esoteric to the ministry. The people know little about them and care little for them. But this situation is unstable. Dogmas which are outside the faith and life of the people will not long retain their hold upon the clergy. Gradually the ministry and the people assimilate. It is quite evident that a considerable body of the ministry in the several denominations have lost faith in the traditional dogmas and have banished them from their experience. But this can be only temporary. There are those

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who are zealous for the old paths and the traditional modes of statement—these will ere long bring on the crisis; and the inevitable result will be either the transformation of the denominations or the gradual withdrawal from them of ministers and people.

Some of these find the relief they need in other denominations. But there are great multitudes, especially in the large cities, who no longer attend upon the ministrations of the Christian Church—not because they are not Christians or religious, but because they cannot in good conscience subscribe to the tenets of the denominations which they have abandoned, and because they have not yet found a church home in which they can feel altogether at peace. Some of them become what is known in our cities as "religious tramps," wandering about from church to church or attending evangelistic and special services; others abstain from church attendance altogether. Ministers of this type usually withdraw from the ministry and engage in literary work or in some form of benevolence, or else enter upon a professional or business career. There are many more such ministers than is usually supposed.

The situation is still further relieved by the large number of liberal men in the Christian ministry who have constructed for themselves, in whole or in part, a system of theology which is in a measure in harmony with modern thought. These are aware of the difficulties of the situation. They know that they have a holy war to wage. They have a duty to perform in the modern world and they intend to live and think in the midst of modern thought. These ministers gather about them multitudes who without them would be lost to the Christian Church. The liberals in the great Protestant denominations for the most part see eye to eye, and stand shoulder to shoulder. They are prepared to stand in the ranks where their Master has placed them and do their reforming work inside the denominations. They are prepared to join their brethren in other denominations, or they are prepared to construct new denominations if the necessity should arise. But at all events they will go on with their reforming work. It is a characteristic of liberals that they "believe in the Holy Ghost." They have confidence that the Holy Spirit is guiding the Church of our day as truly as He guided the Church of the apostles. They are determined to follow His guidance.

The liberals of the present day are not destructive; they have the spirit of modern criticism. But they have so used it as to eliminate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

truth from error. They have in a measure, by Biblical criticism, removed the rubbish of traditional theories and gained the real Bible. They have, by historical criticism, fought their way through traditional prejudices and misrepresentations and won a real Christian history. They have traced the dogmas of the systems to their roots and have determined what was derived from Holy Scripture, what from Greek philosophy and Roman jurisprudence, what from the creeds, what from the speculations of the theologians, what from the provincial schools of theology. The hay, straw and stubble are no longer to them confounded with the gold, silver and precious jewels. They believe in the Holy Spirit and therefore do not cast aside as worthless the doctrinal development of nineteen centuries. They rather, by criticism, strip from the dogmas the filthy rags of traditionalism in order to clothe them in the shining raiment of history.

Nothing substantial of all the achievements of Christian history will be lost in this reconstruction of theology which has been undertaken by liberal theologians. Ere long they will accomplish their task, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But until that time the alienation between the Church and modern thought will continue. It will probably increase in the United States of America, rather than diminish, through the present generation. But early in the next century we may hope that a new theology will advance to the front of human learning and will become once more the mother and queen of all truth.

(2) The Church has lost the confidence of the people in its authority as a divine institution. The Church is a divine institution in the midst of the world, with a ministry commissioned by Christ and sacraments appointed by Christ. The Church is the kingdom of Christ to which all who seek His salvation and recognize Him as Lord and Saviour should belong. The Church and Christianity ought to be co-extensive. But the Church impaired its authority when the Greek, Roman and Oriental churches divided into hostile camps. It shattered its authority when in Western Europe it broke into a number of national churches. Its authority was well-nigh ruined when the national churches of Great Britain were confronted with large numbers of non-conforming sects. In the United States of America nearly all the forms of Christianity exist side by side and lead independent lives. Where in all these heterogeneous forms of Christianity shall we find the divine institution of the Church and the authority with which the Church was endowed by Christ? The ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusive claims of the Roman church amount to little in the face of the historic and aggressive Protestantism. The exclusive claims of any one of the national churches receive little attention in the face of those of other national churches of equal antiquity and of similar historic and legal rights. Shall we recognize a divine authority in all the varied forms of historic Christianity, or shall we deny it to them all?

It is not strange that a large mass of people deny that there is any divine authority in any of these forms of Christianity. Ecclesiastical authority has been so often abused in the history of the Protestant churches no less than of the Roman church, in the interests of tyranny, injustice and wrong, that men are tempted to deny that there can be any divine authority in such ecclesiastical organizations. They say, "What evidence do these churches give that they acted under the influence of God's Holy Spirit and under the superintendence of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of men? Judge them by their fruits! The ecclesiastics have exhibited little if any of the Christ-like spirit and character. They have not acted like men under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Their claims to divine authority must be spurious claims. They do not sustain the test given us by Christ and His apostles. There is no divine authority in any of these churches." This is the thinking of large masses of people at the present time. Therefore they either absent themselves from the churches, or attend their services occasionally, without compromising themselves with them by membership or communion.

In the seventeenth century all the denominations claimed divine right for their forms of government. But the Protestant denominations have in the main abandoned the theory that their types of church government are chartered in the New Testament, and therefore they seek historic right. Those who, like the Roman Catholics and Anglo-Catholics, find a divine right in the Church itself, still hold to the divine right of the Episcopal and Papal forms of church government. But those who limit the divine right to the prescriptions of Holy Scripture are obliged to abandon the divine right of their respective forms of government. With the weakening of the sense of the divine right of church government, the divine right of church discipline and of the ministry and of the sacraments also gradually disappears. As a sign of the times, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America in this year 1893 declared it to be heterodox to say that "the Church is a great fountain of divine authority" and virtually assumed the position

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Presbyterian church is nothing more than a voluntary society, a religious club, in which the supreme obligation is in the contract assumed by the vow of subscription at ordination. Those who hold to such a theory of the Church have themselves abandoned the doctrine that the Church has authority as a divine institution; and they cannot very long hold this position without undermining and destroying confidence in the validity of the Presbyterian ministry and of Presbyterian sacraments.

The Salvation Army is one of the most aggressive forms, if not the most aggressive form, of modern Christianity. It has discarded the Church form of Christianity altogether and adopted the Army form as that best suited for the propagation of Christianity. It is possible that still other such forms may be assumed by devout men and women who have lost confidence in the Church as a divine institution and who think that by divesting Christianity of the forms of the Church, they may make it more fruitful. It is quite evident to anyone who knows the Salvation Army, that the officers hold up the Christlike life and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as the chief attainments of Christian men and women. It may be that the Army form may result in another variety of the Church form of Christianity, or it may be that this form, like that assumed by the Friends in the seventeenth century, will be a temporary refuge for a more devout and aggressive type of Christianity; or like the monastic orders, it may become an auxiliary to the Church.

Confidence in the divine authority of the Church as a divine institution is a vanishing quantity in most Protestant communities; but it is all the more powerful in the Episcopal churches through the potent influence of the Anglo-Catholic movement; and also in the Roman Catholic church. Those denominations which hold to their faith in the Church as a divine institution are certain to gain in the number of their adherents, while those denominations which have lost their faith in the Church as a divine institution will certainly lose the confidence of those who now adhere to them; for no Church can have any permanent life which does not recognize the activity of the divine Spirit working in its institutions, and of the headship of Jesus Christ over all its agencies.

The denominations of Christians are in fact losing the confidence of Christian people. The people change from one denomination to another with the utmost ease, usually on the simple ground of preference for the pastor, and they trouble themselves but little what the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

denomination may be. In the same family, brothers and sisters will be members of several different denominations. If the minister suits them they attend his church; if there is no minister in their neighborhood who suits them, they absent themselves from church. They no longer feel under any obligation to sustain any particular denomination or any special congregation. And yet these people are easily reached. A Christian minister has no difficulty in enlisting them in some form of Christian work and in winning their allegiance to any aggressive Christlike enterprise.

There is a profound dissatisfaction among the masses of the people with regard to the government and discipline of the churches. This dissatisfaction will continue and increase until something better is evolved out of the present condition of things. It matters little what the form of government may be. In Episcopal churches it is the bishop who has to bear the blame; in Presbyterian churches it is the Presbytery or the General Assembly; in Congregational churches the deacons are said to be at fault. The ecclesiastical denominations in the United States are too much involved in traditional usages of former centuries; they do not win the confidence of the people in the propriety of their government and discipline, or in their justice and right. Out of this complexity, liberal men in all denominations are earnestly seeking something to which all may agree, or are trying, in the words of Richard Baxter, to "select out of all the best part and leave the worst," with the hope that they will thereby attain at once "the most desirable [and ancient] form of government."

The Christian Church has made no substantial mistake in the evolution of its institutions. The mistakes have been made in those things which are formal and circumstantial. If these mistakes can be detected and removed and the lines of development, defined in the past, be still further advanced, the denominations may be compacted into a form of church government and discipline that will satisfy the yearnings of all Christlike men and women; and a united, aggressive Church will once more win confidence as a divine institution endowed with divine authority.

(3) The Church has lost the confidence of the people in its sanctity. One of the most essential attributes of the Church is its sanctity. It is the holy catholic Church. If the Church is the bride of Christ, she ought to be without spot or blemish or any such thing. Mirrored in her institutions, the life and character of Jesus ought always to be clearly seen. If the Church is the body of Christ, every movement

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Church ought to be a Christlike movement, every activity a Christlike activity. His mission should be her mission; His life her life; His character her character. How far below this ideal is the Church of history! How inferior the Church of the present day is, when compared with the Church in its heroic periods! Is self-sacrifice or self-aggrandizement the law of the Church? Are ecclesiastics the servants of all, or do they strive to lord it over all? Do dogmaticians seek the truth of God or the propagation of their systems? Is the gospel preached to the poor or to the rich? Where do we find the Church at work—among the suffering and dying, or among the prosperous and the comfortable? Where do we find the great preachers, the great church-buildings, the great expenditure of Christian men and money—among the toiling masses of the people, or among the comfortable and well-to-do? Such questions as these, honestly answered, determine how far the Church of our day is Christlike and to what extent she follows the Christ in self-denial and self-sacrifice. Doubtless there are as noble examples of self-sacrificing ministry now as there ever were before in Christian history. There are many philanthropists who have consecrated their wealth to Christ and His kingdom. There are many men and women who spend themselves in the Redeemer's service. But how is it with the churches as denominations? What is the opinion formed of the Church by the masses? There can be little doubt that to a great extent these have lost confidence in the Church as a holy Christlike institution. There are several reasons for this state of affairs.

(a) The Protestant churches have insisted upon justification by faith as necessary to salvation, and the Methodists and evangelicals have urged the experience of regeneration. They have not made the mistake of some radical Lutherans, that good works were hurtful to salvation, but they have depreciated good works, sanctification and personal holiness in the chain of salvation. They have recognized their importance, but they have not taught them as essential to a full salvation. They have looked for sanctification at the hour of death as a magical transformation. They have not earnestly and eagerly sought it in this life. The Roman Catholics have held forth the counsels of Christian perfection for the attainment of a chosen few who are called to be saints, and so far have maintained a higher ethical standard than Protestantism; but the Roman church as a body has been content with a ceremonial sanctity. The churches

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have not made Christlikeness their shining mark. The mind of Christ has not been their mind; His ways their ways. Therefore the Church has not in any great measure presented itself to the people as holy in Christlike words and deeds. She has sought more her own advancement in numbers, in wealth and in influence, than the salvation of poor, weak and outcast men and women. Her ministers and her adherents have not won men and women from sin to holiness by their example. Church membership, subscription to creeds, conformity to doctrines, liturgies and ceremonies, the observance of religious customs and sacred days, have been made of more importance than repentance, good deeds, and Christlike lives.

This is a practical age. The Church is judged by its fruits, and if it does not make men holier and happier it is not greatly valued by practical men. So long as churchmen are little if any better than men who are not churchmen, these can hardly be severely blamed if they do not see any very great advantages in church membership.

(b) The churches have been slow to engage in Christian work. Almost all the great Christian enterprises of modern times have been undertaken by consecrated men and women outside the Church and often in spite of the opposition of ministers and other ecclesiastical authorities. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Society of Christian Endeavor, and many other organizations of a similar character, are potent energies of Christianity outside the Church, although conducted by Christian people. If so much of the work of Christ may be carried on outside the Church, why not more? May not the Church after all be an effete institution, very useful indeed in the olden time but of no practical importance in our time? Possibly it is the design of Providence that the church form of Christianity should be thrown aside, and Christianity in new and more modern forms may increase its usefulness and become more Christlike. Other forms and institutions may do its work more economically and more efficiently. Such is the opinion of not a few earnest Christian people in our times whose hearts are inflamed with zeal for Christian work, but who are chilled by the cool inertia of reactionary ministers and grieved to the soul by the self-satisfied conservatism of the churches.

Christian women are seeking wider fields of Christian usefulness. They have been admitted to many departments of business-life, to the professions of teaching, law and medicine. They crave a place

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the Christian ministry. Modestly they desire some sphere in which they may actively serve their Master. There has been an earnest effort to revive the order of deaconesses. And yet the Presbyterian church of the United States of America and several other denominations refuse to have them and insist upon the silence of women in their churches. Other denominations in a cautious way are preparing for the ministrations of deaconesses. Few are they who see what a mighty transformation will take place when woman enters with all her energies of Christian love into the field of aggressive Christlike service. Multitudes of Christian women are doing Christian work outside the churches such as they are not allowed at the present time to do within the churches. Many Christian women are thronging into the Salvation Army and into the numerous modern sects and religious and benevolent societies which give them full scope for their activities.

This, then, is the strange situation in modern Protestantism. The churches are engaged chiefly in the conservative work of caring for the regular worship of the congregations at the stated times, in providing for the various needs of the social and religious societies which have volunteered to worship together under pastors of their own choice. But the aggressive work of Christianity is done very largely outside the churches and apart from the churches. This does not tend to reconcile the people and the Church, for the churches are not churches of the people: they are churches of select religious societies from which the people as such are excluded, save so far as they may comply with the social and religious, doctrinal and ecclesiastical, ceremonial and liturgical terms of communion.

(c) The Church has limited its conception of salvation too much to the future life. It has not comprehended the length and breadth of the salvation taught by Jesus Christ. The poor, the sick, the suffering and the dying need a salvation that relieves their physical maladies. Christians have undoubtedly in all ages, in a measure, established hospitals, infirmaries, institutions for the relief of the poor. But this has been sporadic and occasional, rather than as an integral part of the salvation preached and practised by the Church. The toiling masses in our age are no worse off than were those of other ages. But they think that they are more miserable. And they are more miserable for they have learned that they are capable of better things, and they are yearning for better things. They are anxiously looking for a Saviour who will redeem them from their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

misery. Jesus Christ is that Saviour. His Church should bear them the glad tidings of that salvation. The Church may not work miracles as He did, but the Church may and ought to do greater things than the miracles of Christ and His apostles by applying all the resources of modern science and modern methods for the relief of the poverty and the sufferings of men.

In this respect the advocates of Faith Cure and Christian Science have, if we understand them aright, grasped an important principle, and on this account are engaged in an active, zealous propaganda in which many devout men and women share. There can be no doubt that the salvation of Jesus Christ is a salvation from all sin and all misery, and that as Jesus removed bodily maladies, so His Church should aim to do the same. Prayers for the recovery of the sick and the dying should be offered in faith and holy love. The religious and the moral should always accompany the material and the physical remedies. Science and faith should be the sisterly handmaids at every bed of suffering. Science without faith may heal a wound that a diseased soul may cause to break forth with increased peril. Faith without science may lift the soul heavenward only to see it dragged down to earth by a diseased body. Faith is a heavenly help to science in times of difficulty and doubt, where recovery depends upon the state of the soul fully as much as upon the recuperative energies of the body.

The Church is called upon to consider and to solve the great social, industrial and sanitary problems of our times. The Church has lost the confidence of the toiling and suffering masses by neglecting these problems. Too often the Church has thoughtlessly espoused the side of the privileged classes over against the masses of the people. The toiling masses find in their social clubs and fraternal unions that which the Church neglects or declines to give them. If the churches have become social and religious clubs for the privileged classes, why should not the masses have their clubs in which the exercise of brotherly love and mutual helpfulness may give expression to their religious instincts? Many earnest Christian workers have apprehended the seriousness of the situation and have seen in a measure the methods of reform. College and University settlements have been established outside the Church. Undenominational missions have been organized in which agencies unknown to church establishments are employed. Churches for the people have been founded which have become hives of religious activity. These are, however,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

occasional and sporadic efforts, at present. They open up immense reaches of Christian activity in the future. The churches as denominations have not yet taken any great interest in them. The future will show whether the denominations will undertake this work in a broad, comprehensive and thorough-going manner; or whether this also must be given over to new agencies outside the churches. It remains to be seen in the immediate future whether a new denomination of Christians will spring into existence to be the church of the people, or whether the alienation of Church and people is still further to increase, while the people solve their religious and social difficulties without the aid of the churches.

Some of the reasons have been presented for the alienation existing between Church and people in Christian lands at the present time. Doubtless others and better ones might be given by those who are engaged in the newer enterprises designed to overcome the difficulties adduced. One thing is evident to all who consider attentively the present distressing situation. Denominationalism is the great sin and curse of the modern Church. Denominationalism is responsible for the elaborate systems of belief which are paraded as the banners of orthodoxy and which by their contentions impair the teaching function of the Church and destroy the confidence of the people in its possession of the truth of God. Denominationalism is responsible for all those variations of church government and discipline, for all those historical tyrannies and wrongs, which have undermined the faith of the people in the divine authority of such imperious, self-complacent and mutually exclusive ecclesiastical institutions. Denominationalism is responsible for all that waste of men and means, all those unholy jealousies and frictions, all that absorption in external, formal and circumstantial things, which disturb the moral development of the individual and the ethical advancement of the community, and especially retard the great evangelistic and reformatory enterprises at home and abroad.

Liberal men in all the denominations, holy men and women in all religious agencies, have set their minds and hearts upon the removal of these hindrances to the progress of the kingdom of God. The denominations have accomplished their historic task. There is no longer any sufficient reason for their continued existence. They should yield their life and their experience to a more comprehensive and more efficient church plan, one that will embrace all that is best

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in each, combining the executive bishop with the legislative presbytery and the electing people in one comprehensive organization, in which every form of tyranny, injustice and wrong will be stayed by wholesome checks and balances, in which the official doctrine will be reduced to the simple sentences of the universal catholic faith, and in which conformity to Jesus Christ in character and service will be regarded as of vastly more importance than conformity to doctrine, discipline, or ceremonial. Then we may hope that the Church will have regained the confidence of the people in her divine authority, sanctity and catholicity.

C. A. Briggs.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MODERN SCEPTICISM AND ETHICAL CULTURE.

It is the object of these pages to give a brief account of the aims and purposes, more particularly of the American societies for ethical culture, and of their relation to modern religious tendencies. Their general aim, as the name indicates, is simply ethical culture; neither more nor less. The term "ethical" was chosen in place of "moral" on the ground that "moral" connotes rather the external side of conduct, the conformity of actions to the standard of the moral law, while "ethical" refers more to the inner side of conduct, to the motives from which alone right acts derive their worth, to the source in the character from which right motives flow. It is, of course, the object of the ethical societies to promote both the good act and the good motive. There is at the outset an objection which has frequently been stated and requires to be met. What need can there be, it is asked, of a new association for the object mentioned? Is not every church a society for ethical culture? Is there any necessity for an ethical movement outside the churches? Nay, is it not a waste of effort to attempt to do on the outside that which can be done within with far greater efficacy and more lasting results?

To this objection we are bound to answer in the first place that there are many thousands and tens of thousands of men and women at the present day, whom the Church for one reason or another does not reach, on whom the teachings of religion have lost their hold. And in this class of persons are included not only many eminent professors of science, many leading writers and artists, many of those practical men who have achieved commanding success in commercial and industrial pursuits, but multitudes of the working-class, especially in our large cities. It has long ceased to be true that religious indifference is confined to the so-called upper class. It has gained ground and is daily gaining more and more ground among the people generally. The times have mightily changed since Goethe wrote his famous aphorism, "He who has science and art has religion; he who has not these two—let him have religion." Even the first of his two statements is true only of the select few among the followers of science and art, of those rare personalities to whom the love of truth

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and beauty has become an overmastering passion. The great majority of so-called scientists and artists are mere craftsmen, devoid of all high idealism, and derive no religious equivalents from their daily work. The second of his statements, whereby he remits those who have not science and art to the care of the churches, has even to a greater extent lost its point.

Whatever may have been the situation half-a-century ago when Goethe wrote, to-day a wave of sceptical opinion is passing over the masses of the people in all civilized countries, so that the number is exceedingly large of those who neither have the idealism of science and art to support them, nor are willing or able to accept the current creeds, and who are therefore allowed simply to drift as best they may, wholly uncared for on the moral or spiritual side of their natures. The question therefore arises, and it is one which cannot be shirked in view of the moral dangers with which we are threatened, in view, for instance, of the alarming progress of the divorce movement, in view of the growing corruption of our politics, in view of the ever-increasing unrest and discontent of the laboring classes which it will tax the moral forces of society to the utmost to appease,—the question arises whether some effort should not be made to build up the moral life of those whom the Church has ceased to influence, to develop the moral instincts of children, to fortify the character of the young against the temptations of intemperance and licentiousness, to cherish the love of justice and the capacity of self-sacrifice.

Now if the acceptance of a creed were an indispensable condition of the moral life, the problem of reaching the unchurched could not be solved. For it is precisely the acceptance of the current creeds that has become impossible to many honest thinkers. And if morality and religious belief must stand and fall together, then the outlook into the moral future of the human race would be dark indeed. But it is at this point that the Ethical Societies have taken a new departure. The gospel which they preach is essentially this: that the good life is possible to all without the previous acceptance of any creed, irrespective of religious opinion or philosophic theory; that the way of righteousness is open and can be entered directly without a previous detour through the land of faith or philosophy. The word "righteousness" acquires in the Ethical Societies the supreme place. It is written in our Holy of Holies. It is pronounced with reverence and piety; it is the best thing in the world we know of.

This does not imply that belief in God or in Christ is denied. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ethical Societies are not societies of free-thinkers or agnostics. Many who belong to us are radicals and agnostics, but others are ardent theists. We think that we have found a new bond of fellowship, a new common ground upon which agnostics and theists and good men of all shades of belief and opinion can stand together; it is the common pursuit of righteousness, the supreme desire to see righteousness flourish on earth. But for those of us who have deep religious emotions, whose religious needs and aspirations are keen, the question of precedence as between religion and morality has been settled in a new way. Hitherto the opinion has prevailed that morality is the corollary of religion. Our own conviction is the very opposite, *viz.*, that moral truth is the main proposition from which religious belief, if deduced at all, must follow as the corollary. Our conviction is that in proportion as a man becomes morally regenerate will he be open to the impression and influence of spiritual truth; that moral regeneration must come first, and spiritual insight will come afterward, as it is written, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." First purity of heart, then the Divine vision. The aim of the ethical movement, therefore, is moral regeneration—regeneration of the individual, and of human society as a whole.

The phrase, "mere morality," is often heard nowadays, and is commonly pronounced with a somewhat contemptuous accent, as if morality pure and simple were a poor and impotent thing. But to couple the belittling adjective "mere" with "morality" seems unwarranted, nay blasphemous. One might as well speak to the lover of mere love, to the benevolent of mere charity, to the lover of his country of mere patriotism, and yet all these—patriotism, love and charity—are but isolated rays of the sun of Righteousness, which in the fulness of its light is more than they. And it may be stated as a fact that to many of those who have joined the Ethical Societies, this gospel of righteousness has become a veritable salvation. There was a time when their life seemed utterly dark and desolate. Through no fault of their own, the faith which had been transmitted to them at their mother's knee had became uncertain; corroding doubt had attacked their most cherished beliefs, and in the bitterness and anguish of the inner struggle which they underwent it seemed to them that the world was emptied of all that is most sacred, and that life was robbed of all that gives it worth and meaning. But as a star in the night, there rose above their heads the star of duty, and as the dawn of day there came into their hearts the conviction that what-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever else might go, something infinitely precious and sacred remains, something which they could not lose: they felt that the distinction between the better and the baser life remains, and that they could lead the better life if they only would, and that even in the attempt to do so there is inspiration and support and solace. Though the waters of scepticism might sweep away the whole superstructure of religious belief, the Rock of Righteousness remained upon which they could build up their lives anew.

But, it may be asked, what leverage is at our command, to what motives can we appeal to rouse men from their inertia, and lead them to the pursuit of the moral goal? Savonarola, in one of those powerful sermons of his, the echoes of which have reverberated through the centuries, puts the question why it is that men choose the life of pleasure and worldly advantage rather than the good life, which on its own account is so much to be preferred; and he answers by saying that "their eyes are blinded by the mists of the world so that they cannot see the good life in all its beauty." Could they do so, it would exercise upon them an irresistible attraction. In this statement is indicated the method of propaganda which every moral movement must use. The thing to do is for the teachers, the leaders, to see clearly the scheme of right living and to make others see it, to be aglow with moral passion, and to kindle in others the same fire; to be in earnest, and to infect others with their earnestness. Just as the teacher of art educates pupils and trains up artists by first himself seeing the hidden Beautiful and then helping others to see it, nay, so enhancing their faculty that they may see perhaps far more than he does: so the moral teacher gains adherents and wins acceptance for his teachings by first seeing fine shades of right and wrong, which perhaps escape the common eye, and possibilities of concord and co-operation among men which transcend the common hope, and then making others see what he sees. All the great moral movements of the world have radiated from great personalities. Christianity was built on the personality of Jesus. The creed-makers came afterward, and they did not altogether improve on what they found before them. Doubtless the gift of moral vision is unequally distributed. The few who have possessed it to a paramount degree have become the world's great prophets and leaders. But the method of the supreme masters should be followed by the humblest of their successors, and it is as true to-day as in the days of Isaiah and of Jesus, that by as much as a man sees, by so much will he influence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What, then, is our attitude toward the churches? Certainly it is not unfriendly; and on the other hand, cheering words of recognition and messages of Godspeed have come to us not infrequently from them. The ethical societies cover ground which the churches cannot cover. They are missionary societies of the moral life *in partibus infidelium*. But they aim also to be more than that. They hope to render a service to the Church itself, and as to the nature of this service a few words of explanation will now be necessary.

The human mind cannot permanently abide in dualism. There lives in us an inextinguishable desire to bind together in unity our manifold experiences, to harmonize the world which we carry within us with the external world, the order of nature with the moral order. The demand for the reconciliation of Science and Religion is one that cannot be evaded, though the terms upon which the alliance shall be concluded may still for a long time to come be disputed. There was a time, indeed, when Science and Religion were completely at one. Science and Theology were married—Theology was the husband, Science the wife. But the union was an imperfect one because not founded on the recognition of the equal rights of the spouses. "The man was the head of the woman," Science was subordinate to and oppressed by Theology. The change for the better did not come till the independence of Science was recognized, till she was left free to follow her own course, to seek truth wherever she might find it without being hampered by the requirement, prematurely imposed, of bringing her truths into accord with truths of a wholly different kind. And not only Science but Religion eventually gained by the change. The picture of the universe as it is unfolded to us by modern science is infinitely grander than that with which our pre-scientific ancestors were acquainted, and the conception of the Divine economy as entertained by modern religious thinkers has proportionately gained in sublimity and depth.

It would seem that a like state of things should now be brought about between religion and moral science. Moral teaching has been in the past and still is almost exclusively in the hands of theologians. The leading interest of these teachers, however, lies in the realm of doctrine, and they have had, as a rule, no special training for the scientific study of the subject of ethics. The consequence has been that the progress of moral science, like that of the natural sciences under similar circumstances, has been greatly retarded. It is true that ever since the Revival of Learning, philosophy has sought to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wrest the field of morals from the control of theology and annex it to her own domain, and various imposing ethical systems have been erected on purely metaphysical foundations. But then the influence of philosophy on ethics is closely akin to that of religion. This influence is both good and bad. It is, on the one hand, the great value of formulas in general that they help us to see more clearly the facts which comport with them, and from this point of view the formulas of religion and philosophy have not been devoid of the greatest usefulness. There is perhaps no metaphysical system of ethics, no religious creed, that has not brought more clearly into view, or set into a brighter illumination, certain aspects of the moral life that had been less clearly apprehended before, or wholly ignored. But, on the other hand, it is the vice of all formulas, whether religious or philosophical, that they tend to shut out from view certain other facts, certain aspects which do not fit into a formula, and therefore it is equally true to say that there has never been a philosophical system or a religious creed which has done justice to the moral life as a whole. What we need is that there should be in ethics the same relations between formulas and facts that already prevail in the other sciences.

Facts now are everywhere in the foreground, are observed and recorded with the utmost precision, and theories are treated as so many handles by which phenomena may be seized, and the uniformities subsisting among them apprehended. Theories are made tributary to the explanation of facts, facts are no longer impressed into the service of theories. There is hardly a single generalization of science, however widely accepted, that has entirely stripped off its hypothetical character. There is not a single scientific formula which the investigators of nature are not ready to lay aside if new facts should come into view which its terms do not cover. The one animating impulse of a scientific research is the desire to ascertain the truth. In like manner, the one determining motive of ethics should be the desire to promote the knowledge and the practice of the Right, and all religious and philosophical formulas should be tested by their ability to subserve this end. It is taking a false attitude to start with the assumption that any system of ethics is a perfect system, from which nothing may be subtracted and to which nothing requires to be added.

There is no doubt that all philosophies and all the great religions have contributed, though in unequal degrees, to the advancement of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ethical thought and practice. But it is equally certain that the whole truth in the sphere of ethics has never yet been uttered, that we are still at the "cockcrow of civilization," that the moral evolution of mankind, far from being complete, has only begun. The actual phenomena of the moral life have by no means been explored as they should be. The evolution of conscience among mankind generally has only begun to attract attention. The development of conscience in the young is little known. The scientific study of character which Mill proposed has remained a desideratum to this day; and yet there is nothing more evident than that if we wish to form and reform human character, we ought to know a great deal more than we do about the material we are trying to shape. Then again the practical problems of ethics have not received the attention they deserved, such questions, for instance, as those of the hygiene of the passions, the best methods for the training of the will, and again, beyond these, the larger problems that affect the welfare of society as a whole, the problem of justice as between the social classes, the problem of the moral functions of the state, and the like. In regard to all these matters, there still exists the greatest uncertainty, the most deplorable confusion of thought. The general commandments of religion, such as "Love one another," the abstract formulas of philosophy, do not serve us when standing face to face with these specific problems; and yet, if moral science is to have any value, it must help us by unravelling precisely such knots as these. It must prove its value by giving us more specific guidance.

There is ample occasion, therefore, for ethical culture work outside the churches. There is room for teachers and preachers and societies that will make a specialty of ethics apart from religion. The principle of the division of labor or of the specialization of effort which has been applied with the most salutary results in all branches of knowledge, and in all departments of practical life, should also be applied to the cultivation of religion and morality, and when applied will no doubt prove advantageous to both. The Church indeed will not forego its time-honored privilege of directing the conscience of mankind, but neither is there any reason why the Church should object to seeing new opportunities of moral study and moral training created outside its boundaries. On the contrary, the Church should, and no doubt will, joyfully assimilate and adapt to its own uses whatever fruits meet for acceptance these new opportunities may call forth, and the results of ethical science will, in the end, conduce

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

even more powerfully than those of natural science to clarify, refine and exalt the religious conceptions of mankind.

Ethical culture has sometimes been compared to horticulture, and the comparison is not inappropriate. As the interest of the skilful gardener is centred in his plants and not on plants in general, so the ethical society is interested primarily in improving the moral life of those who belong to it. The regeneration of humanity as an aim is not forgotten, but chief attention is given to regenerating that section of humanity which the ethical society can reach. As the gardener seeks to discover what soil is best and what environment most favorable for his plants, so an ethical society seeks to discover the conditions under which the different species of human plants will best unfold. The aim in either case is definite. But by as much as the beauty of holiness transcends the beauty of flowers, by so much does the task of developing into the perfect stature of manhood and womanhood transcend in dignity and in the sacred feelings with which it is associated, every other merely secular pursuit.

In accordance with these views, the Ethical Societies have devoted themselves largely, and from the outset, to the business of education. The best Sunday-school teachers of the country are keenly alive to the defects of Sunday-school teaching as it is commonly carried on. To correct these defects, to devise a scheme of moral education for children, based on rational, pedagogical principles in harmony with the tendency of the New Education, has been a prime object. Then, too, school education in general has received special attention. It has been felt that the whole school and the atmosphere of every classroom should be permeated by the ethical spirit, that not alone the moral lessons proper, but the history lessons, the literature lessons, the discipline and government of the school, should have the ethical accent. Above all, it is believed that the school does not fulfil its true mission unless individualization in teaching is carried to a far greater extent than has been customary: and to this end, in the school conducted under the auspices of the ethical society in the city of New York, new branches have been introduced, such as manual training; and increased stress has been laid upon the teaching of art and elementary science, with a view of affording increased facilities for testing the natural bent of every pupil, and of educating him along the lines which Nature seems to have marked out for him. The Ethical Societies have realized from the beginning that the elevation of the working-class is the one great moral problem of our age,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and have endeavored in various ways to contribute their mite toward its solution.

It remains to call attention to one other point. The ethical movement, in this like the Church, furnishes employment to a great diversity of talents. It requires the services of teachers of children, college professors, journalists, platform lecturers; of persons who charge themselves with the moral analogue of the "cure of souls"; and of preachers—preachers of righteousness. The last category especially offers a new field and opportunity to earnest and gifted men and women, who are now being deflected from their natural vocations. There are not a few students in the upper classes of our colleges and in theological seminaries, who feel what is termed a call for the ministry, who desire nothing so much as to be the moral helpers of their fellow-men in the peculiar way possible to the preacher, and who yet are deterred from choosing this career, and finally enter into other callings for which they are not half so well fitted and where they achieve but a meagre success, either because of intellectual difficulties besetting the doctrines they are required to accept, or because, though faith is not wanting, they feel themselves to be still in the process of intellectual development, and do not wish to be pledged and bound to the articles of a creed which they are well aware they may outgrow later on. To such persons, the vocation of the ethical preacher affords a clear and admirable escape from their difficulties.

In this vocation they can become the moral helpers of others. They can take hold of the world's woes and wrongs and strive to alleviate and redress them; they can become soldiers of the light battling for the cause of truth and justice. Whatever their present religious beliefs may be, they are not required to deny or to hide them. They have full liberty to express on ethical platforms the convictions which they hold most dear and sacred. But at the same time there is no mortgage upon their future thought, there is no fetter to hold back their mental pace. As their intellectual horizon widens their thought is free to expand, and to assimilate every new truth of which they may become cognizant. They are pledged to nothing except to promote, with all the power of brain and heart, the end of right living among mankind; and this is an end, the certainty of which to an honest nature can never become "clouded with a doubt."

FELIX ADLER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE DAWN OF A NEW RELIGIOUS ERA.

THE Parliament of Religions, which sat in Chicago from September 11 to September 27, was a great surprise to the world. When the men who inaugurated it invited representatives of all the great religions of the earth to meet in conference, their plan was looked upon with misgiving, if not with ridicule. The feasibility and the advisability of their undertaking were doubted. The greatest and most powerful churches, it was said, would not be represented. The Vatican, for instance, regards the Roman Catholic church as the only soul-saving power, with exclusive authority to loose or bind. To allow a comparison between it and other churches on a footing of equality, to appeal to reason, to provoke and favor such an appeal, or to submit to a decision after argument, would be tantamount to the recognition of reason, or logic, or science, as a higher and the highest test of truth. Like reasons, it was thought, would more or less influence other denominations, for almost all of them claim to be based upon a special divine revelation which is above argument, so as to render the mere doubt of it sin.

In spite of all these doubts and fears, the Parliament of Religions was convened, and it proved an extraordinary success. The work grew rapidly under the hands of its promoters, so that the time originally allotted to it had to be increased until it extended over seventeen days. Although discussion had been excluded from the programme so as to avoid friction, it could not be entirely controlled. Nevertheless a good spirit presided over all the sessions, so that criticism promoted a closer agreement and united men of different faiths more strongly in bonds of mutual respect and toleration. The multitudes that filled the halls at the closing session were animated with a feeling that the Parliament had not lasted long enough, that a movement had been inaugurated which was as yet only a beginning that needed further development, and that we should stay and continue the work.

All uncertainty as to the feasibility of the gathering vanished when the Roman Catholic church most cordially accepted the invita-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion to take part. "We, as the mother of all Christian churches," said Bishop Keane, in his extemporaneous and unpublished farewell address, "have a good right to be represented. Why should we not come?" And nearly all the other denominational representatives thought as he did. Whether or not it was consistent with traditional orthodoxy, they came none the less. So powerful was the desire for a religious union, representatives of the broadest as well as of the narrowest views met in fraternal coöperation on the same platform. You could see such an evangelist as Joseph Cook sitting by the side of liberal clergymen, such as Jenkin Lloyd Jones, of Chicago, and E. L. Rexford, of Boston. And these Christians again exchanged cordial greetings with the pagan Hindus and the atheistic Buddhists; an unprecedented spectacle!

And it was a spectacle in the literal sense of the word. In accord with American simplicity, the men of this country appeared in their everyday attire and our European guests wisely followed their example. Nevertheless, the sight was often picturesque. Cardinal Gibbons, when he delivered the prayer at the opening of the first public session, wore his official crimson robes. The prelates of the Greek Church, foremost among them the Most Rev. Dionysius Latas, Archbishop of Zante, looked very venerable in their sombre vestments and Greek cylindrical hats. The Shinto High Priest Shibata was dressed in a flowing garment of white, decorated with curious emblems, and on his head was a strangely-shaped cap wrought apparently of black jet, from the top of which nodded mysteriously a feather-like ornament of unknown significance. Pung Quang Yu, a tall and stout man, an adherent of Confucius, and the authorized representative of the Celestial Empire, appeared in Chinese dress. There were present several Buddhist bishops of Japan, in dress which varied from violet to black. The turbaned Hindu monk, Swami Vivekanânda, in a long orange gown, who, as we were informed, lived in voluntary poverty so that as a rule he did not know where he would receive his next day's meal; Dharmapâla, the Ceylonese Buddhist, in his robe of white;—these and many more were the exceedingly interesting men who appeared upon the stage and spoke their minds freely on subjects over which in former ages cruel wars were waged. Differences not only of religious opinions but also of races were represented in the Congress. Bishop B. W. Arnett, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, confessed that the brotherhood of man had for the first time been taken seriously. When introduced, he said,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I am to represent the African, and have been invited to give color to the Parliament of Religions." Interrupted by a storm of merriment, he continued, "But I think the Parliament is already very well colored, and if I have eyes, I think the color is this time in the majority."

The Parliament of Religions was, I repeat, a great spectacle; but it was more than that. There was a purport in it. It powerfully manifested the various religious yearnings of the human heart, and all these yearnings exhibited a longing for unity and mutual good understanding. How greatly they mistake who declare that mankind is drifting toward an irreligious future! It is true that people have become indifferent about theological subtleties, but they still remain and will remain under the sway of religion; and the churches are becoming more truly religious, as they are becoming less sectarian.

There are two kinds of Christianity. One is love and charity; it wants the truth brought out and desires to see it practically applied in daily life. It is animated by the spirit of Jesus and tends to broaden the minds of men. The other is pervaded with exclusiveness and bigotry. It does not aspire through Christ to the truth; but takes Christ, as tradition has shaped his life and doctrines, to be the truth itself. It naturally lacks charity and hinders the spiritual growth of men. The latter kind of Christianity has always been looked upon as the orthodox and the only true Christianity. It has been fortified by Bible passages, formulated in Quicunques, indorsed by decisions of ecumenical councils and by papal bulls. Tracts privately distributed among the visitors to the Congress contained quotations such as, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed"; and "He that believeth not shall be condemned."

There were a few voices heard at the Parliament of Religions which breathed this narrow and so-called orthodox Christianity, but they could hardly be regarded as characterizing the spirit of the whole enterprise. They really served as a contrast by which the tolerant principles of our Oriental guests shone the more brightly. "The Hindu fanatic," said Vivekanânda, "burns himself on the pyre, but he never lights the fagots of an Inquisition"; and we were told that Buddha said to his disciples, "I forbid you to believe anything simply because I said it." Even Mohammedanism, generally supposed to be the most authoritative of all religions, appeared mild and rational as explained by Mr. Webb. At one of the meetings

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a prayer was offered for those blind heathen who attended the Congress, that God might have mercy on them and open their eyes, so that they would see their own errors and accept the truth of Christianity; but the prayer found an echo neither in the hearts of our foreign guests nor among the men who had convened the Congress nor among the audience who listened to the prayer. Far from being converted, the heathen delegates took the opportunity of denouncing Christian missionaries for their supercilious attitude and for making unessential things essential. For instance, the missionaries, they said, demand that the Hindus abolish caste, and treat the refusal to eat meat as a pagan prejudice, so that in the Hindu mind "Christian" has come to mean "carnivorous." B. Nagarkar, of Bombay, expressed himself more guardedly. Said he—

"Sad will be the day for India when Christian missionaries cease to come; for we have much to learn about Christ and Christian civilization. They do some good work. But if converts are the measure of their success, we have to say that their work is a failure. Little do you dream that your money is expended in spreading abroad nothing but Christian dogmatism, Christian bigotry, Christian pride, and Christian exclusiveness. I entreat you to expend one-tenth only of your vast sacrifices in sending out to our country unsectarian, broad missionaries who will devote their energy to educating our men and women. Educated men will understand Christ better than those whom you convert to the narrow creed of some cant Christianity."

The severest rebuke came from the lips of the representative of Jainism, and from the monk Vivekanânda. The latter denounced Christian missionaries for offering stones instead of bread. They build churches, he said, and preach sectarian creeds which benefit no one. They despise the sacred traditions of the Hindu, the profundity of which they are unable to fathom; and, he added, "What shall we think of a religion whose missionaries distribute food in a famine to the starving people on the condition of conversion?" These were hard reproaches, yet they were accepted by the Christians with good grace. The Rev. R. G. Hume of India said, "We are willing to have our Buddhistic and Brahman friends tell us how we can do better. Anyone who will help us to be more humble and more wise will do us good and we will thank him whoever he be." And Bishop Keane, Rector of the Roman Catholic University at Washington, was not lacking in this broad religious spirit. "I indorse," said the Bishop, impressively, "the denunciation hurled against the system of pretended charity that offered food to the hungry Hindus at the cost of their conscience and their faith. It is a shame

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and disgrace to all who call themselves Christians. And if Vivekanânda by his criticism can only stir us and sting us into better teachings and better doings in the great work of Christ, I for one shall be profoundly grateful to our friend the great Hindu monk."

This is the true catholicity of the religion of mankind, and coming from the lips of a Roman Catholic bishop, it did not fail to find a joyous and powerful response in the audience. To the honor of our Hindu friends we have to add that the fairness and impartial love of justice with which their remarks were accepted by a Christian audience, as well as by their Christian brethren on the platform, were unhesitatingly recognized. Said one of them, "The tolerance, the kindliness, nay, the patience with which you listen to the enumeration of your faults, this sympathy with the wrong done to heathendom by Christianity, makes me believe that we have all advanced and are advancing wonderfully."

Heretofore, the broad Christianity has always been regarded as heretical; but as this Parliament proves, times have changed. Judging from what we witnessed at Chicago, the official representatives of almost all religions speak a new language. The narrowness of past ages is now felt to be due to imperfect views of the truth, and we recognize the duty to pass beyond it to a higher and grander conception. There are still representatives of the narrow spirit left, but their position becomes more and more untenable.

What does it matter that previous ecumenical councils did not stand upon a broad platform? Does not religion grow? Was the present Parliament of Religions not ecumenical? And has the holy spirit of religious progress ceased to be a presence in mankind? If ever any council was ecumenical, it was this gathering at Chicago; and although no resolutions were passed, there were a certain harmony in matters of faith and a consciousness of that which is essential, such as were never manifested before. The Parliament advised us anew that the narrow Christianity will disappear, for its errors have become palpable. There are still remaining some prophets of the trust in a blind faith, but their influence is on the wane. They are deficient in insight and they lack in understanding. We shall have to educate them and teach them that the spirit of Christ is not with them, but marches on with the progressive part of mankind to the planes of a higher evolution.

While the Congresses enabled our foreign guests to learn to know Christianity better than it appeared to them in the sermons and Sun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

day-schools of Christian missions, we in turn learned to respect not only the love of truth and the earnestness of pagans, but also their philosophical capacity. It is impossible to analyze the details of the various views presented; but a few quotations may not be out of place. Vivekanânda, for instance, explained the central idea of the Vedas as follows—

"I humbly beg to differ from those who see in monotheism, in the recognition of a personal God apart from nature, the acme of intellectual development. I believe it is only a kind of anthropomorphism which the human mind stumbles upon in its first efforts to understand the unknown. The ultimate satisfaction of human reason and emotion lies in the realization of that universal essence which is the All. And I hold an irrefragable evidence that this idea is present in the Veda, the numerous gods and their invocations notwithstanding. This idea of the formless All, the Sat, *i.e.*, *esse*, or being, called Âtman and Brahman in the Upanishads, and further explained in the Darsanas, is the central idea of the Veda, nay, the root idea of the Hindu religion in general."

On another occasion the same speaker dwelt on the idea of this condition with reference to the soul. He said further—

"The Vedas proclaim, not a dreadful combination of unforgiving laws, not an endless prison of cause and effect, but that, at the head of all these laws, in and through every particle of matter and force, stands One through whose command the wind blows, the fire burns, the clouds rain, and death stalks upon the earth. And what is his nature? He is everywhere, the pure and formless one, the Almighty and the All-merciful. 'Thou art our Father, thou art our mother, thou art our beloved friend, thou art the source of all strength. Thou art He that bearest the burdens of the universe; help me bear the little burden of this life.' Thus sang the Rishis of the Veda. And how to worship him? Through love. 'He is to be worshipped as the one beloved, dearer than everything in this and in the next life.'"

The breadth of Vivekanânda's religious views appeared when he said—

"The same light shines through all colors, and in the heart of everything the same truth reigns. The Lord has declared to the Hindu in his incarnation as Krishna, 'I am in every religion, as the thread through a string of pearls, and wherever thou seest extraordinary holiness and extraordinary power raising and purifying humanity know ye that I am there.'"

Parseeism, the noble religion of Zarathustra, received scholarly treatment by a delegate who repudiated its dualism and represented it as pure monotheism, while he satisfactorily explained the symbolism of the sacred fire. But that idolatry should find adroit champions in the Congress could not have been anticipated. Said Vivekanânda—

"It may be said without the least fear of contradiction that no Indian idolater, as such, believes the piece of stone, metal, or wood before his eyes to be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his god in any sense of the word. He takes it only as a symbol of the all-pervading Goodhood, and uses it as a convenient object for purposes of concentration, which, being accomplished, he does not hesitate to throw it away."

The son of a native king from the Wey Territory of the West Coast of Africa, a fine-looking youth of good education, which he had received in an American college after his conversion to Christianity, spoke in the same way with Vivekanânda concerning the idolatry of African natives.

Mohammedanism, in addition to its representation by Moslems, was critically reviewed by the Rev. George Washburn, President of Robert College, Constantinople, who showed its points of contact and disagreement with Christianity. He quoted passages from the Koran which, in contrast to Mr. Webb's exposition, prove the exclusiveness of Mohammed's religion. The third sura, for instance, declares—

"Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam, shall not be accepted, and at the last day he shall be of those that perish!"

Dr. Washburn quoted the following Mohammedan hymn, composed by Shereef Hanoom, a Turkish lady of Constantinople, and translated by the Rev. H. O. Dwight, which reminds us strongly of our best modern Christian poetry—

"O source of kindness and of love,
O give us aid or hopes above,
'Mid grief and guilt although I grope,
From thee I'll ne'er cut off my hope,
My Lord, O my Lord!

"Thou King of Kings, dost know my need,
Thy pardoning grace, no bars can heed;
Thou lov'st to help the helpless one
And bid'st his cries of fear be gone,
My Lord, O my Lord!

"Shouldst thou refuse to still my fears,
Who else will stop to dry my tears?
For I am guilty, guilty still,
No other one has done so ill,
My Lord, O my Lord!

"The lost in torment stand aghast,
To see this rebel's sins so vast;
What wonder, then, that Shereef cries
For mercy, mercy, ere she dies,
My Lord, O my Lord!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Buddhism was strongly represented by delegates from Ceylon, Siam, and Japan. A prince of Siam sent a paper which contained a brief exposition of Buddhistic principles. There are four noble truths according to Buddha. These are (1) the existence of suffering; (2) the recognition of ignorance as the cause of suffering; (3) the extinction of suffering by the cessation of the three kinds of lust arising from ignorance; and (4) the eight paths that lead to the cessation of lust. These eight paths constitute the way of salvation and are (1) right understanding; (2) right resolutions; (3) right speech; (4) right acts; (5) the right way of earning a livelihood; (6) right efforts; (7) right meditation; and (8) the right state of mind. The Japanese Buddhists are men of philosophical depth and genius, and might have made a deeper impression if they had been more familiar with western thought. One of them concluded his article on the teachings of Buddha with the following words—

"You know very well that our sunrise island of Japan is noted for its beautiful cherry-tree flowers. But you do not know that our country is also the kingdom where the flowers of truth are blooming in great beauty and profusion at all seasons. Visit Japan, and do not forget to take home with you the truth of Buddhism. All hail the glorious spiritual spring-day, when the song and odor of truth invite you all out to our country for the search of holy paradise."

All these utterances combine to indicate, as I have already hinted, that the Parliament of Religions deserves to rank among the most noteworthy affairs of this decade. What are the whole World's Fair and its magnificent splendor in comparison with it, in celebrating the spread of true enlightenment? Or what the German army bill, the Irish Home Rule bill in England and its drastic episodes in the House of Parliament, or a change of party in the United States? It is evident that from its date we shall have to begin a new era in the evolution of man's religious life. It is difficult to understand the pentecost of Christianity which took place after the departure of Christ from his disciples. But this Parliament of Religions was analogous in many respects, and it may give us an idea of what happened at Jerusalem nearly two thousand years ago. A holy intoxication overcame the speakers as well as the audience; and no one can conceive how impressive the whole proceeding was, unless he himself saw the eager faces of the people and imbibed the enthusiasm that enraptured the multitudes. The whole movement indicates the extinction of the old narrowness and the beginning of a new era of a broader and higher religious life.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whether or not the Parliament of Religions be repeated, the fact remains that this congress at Chicago will exert a lasting influence upon the religious intelligence of mankind. It has stirred the spirits, stimulated mental growth, and given direction to man's further evolution. It is by no means an agnostic movement, for it is carried on the wings of a religious faith and positive certainty. It is decidedly a child of the old religions, and Christianity is undoubtedly still the leading star. That the faults of Christianity have been more severely rebuked than those of any other religion should not be interpreted to mean that the others are in every respect better, for the censure is but a sign that points to the purification of Christianity.

The religion of the future, as the opinions presented indicate, will be that religion which can rid itself of all narrowness, of all demand for blind subordination, of the sectarian spirit, and of the Phariseeism which takes it for granted that its own devotees alone are good and holy, while the virtues of others are but polished vices. The religion of the future cannot be a creed upon which the scientist must turn his back, because it is irreconcilable with the principles of science. Religion must be in perfect accord with science; for science —and I mean here not the private opinions and hypotheses of single scientists—is not an enterprise of human frailty. Science is divine and the truth of science is a revelation of God. Through science God speaks to us; by science he shows us the glory of his works; and in science he teaches us his will. "We love science," said a Catholic priest, of Paris, at one of the sessions in the scientific section, when protesting against a thoughtless remark of a speaker who broadly accused the clergy of being opposed to science. "We love science," Father d'Arby said, emphatically; "the office of science in religion is to prune it of fantastic outgrowths. Without science religion would become superstition."

The human soul consists of two elements, self and truth. Self is the egotistical desire of being some independent little deity, and truth is the religious longing for making our soul a dwelling-place of God. The existence of self is an illusion; and there is no wrong in this world, no vice, no sin except what flows from the assertion of self. There is but one religion, the religion of truth. There is but one piety, it is the love of truth. There is but one morality, it is the earnest desire of leading a life of truth. And the religion of the future can be only the Religion of Truth.

PAUL CARUS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITERS IN THE NOVEMBER FORUM.

PROFESSOR H. E. VON HOLST (*Shall the Senate Rule the Republic?*), born in Germany in 1841, studied in the Universities of Dorpat and Heidelberg. In 1866, he emigrated to the United States. In 1869, he became assistant editor of the "Deutsche-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon." He was made Professor of History in Strasburg University in 1872 and at Freiburg in 1874. He subsequently revisited the United States and lectured at Johns Hopkins University. His "Constitutional and Political History of the United States" appeared originally in German in Berlin and Düsseldorf. He is the author of a "Life of John C. Calhoun," and other works. He is now Professor of History at the University of Chicago.

MR. PAUL BOURGET (*The New Moral Drift in French Literature*), born in Amiens in 1852, published in 1874 "La Vie Inquiète," a volume of poems, which was followed in 1878 by "Edel" and in 1882 by "Les Aveux." Between 1883 and 1886 he produced four volumes of essays, and during the same period these novels and stories: "L'Irreparable" (1884), "Cruelle Enigme" (1885), "Un Crime d'Amour" (1886), "André Cornelis" (1886), "Mensonges" (1887), "Pastels" (1888), "Le Disciple" (1889), "Un Cœur de Femme" (1890), "Le Physiologie de l'Amour Moderne" (1890), "Nouveaux Pastels" (1891), "Terre Promise" (1892), "Cosmopolis" (1892), "Un Scrupule" (1893).

GENERAL ADAM BADEAU (*Hamilton Fish: The Old School and the New*), born in New York in 1831, was admitted to the bar in 1855 and was connected with newspapers in New York from 1856 to 1861. He entered the Union army at the outbreak of the Civil War, was seriously wounded in the assault on Port Hudson, and acted as military secretary to General Grant from 1863 to 1869. From 1869 to 1881 he was Secretary of Legation or Consul-General in London, and from 1882 to 1884 he was Consul-General at Havana. General Badeau is the author of the "Military History of U. S. Grant," "Aristocracy in England," "Conspiracy, a Cuban Romance," "Grant in Peace," and other books.

THE HON. L. E. BLECKLEY (*Negro Outrage no Excuse for Lynching*), born in Georgia in 1827, was admitted to the bar in 1846. In 1851, he became private secretary to Governor Towns, and in 1853 was elected Solicitor-General of Georgia. He was a volunteer private in the Civil War, but ill-health compelled him to retire from the army. From 1864 to 1867 he was Supreme Court reporter of Georgia. In 1875, he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court and in 1877 was made Chief Justice, which office he now holds.

MR. WALTER H. PAGE (*The Last Hold of the Southern Bully*), born in Cary, N. C., in 1855, was educated at Bingham School, at Randolph-Macon College, Va., and at Johns Hopkins University. He was for ten years a writer for newspapers chiefly in New York, where since 1880 his home has been. Mr. Page has been in the service of THE FORUM since the second year of its existence, and for nearly three years has been its Editor.

MR. JOHN R. PROCTER (*America's Battle for Commercial Supremacy*) was born in Kentucky in 1844. He left the University of Pennsylvania, where he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was taking the scientific course, in the summer of 1864 to enter the Southern army. In 1873, on the organization of the Geological Survey of Kentucky, he became connected with the Survey, of which he was made Director in 1880.

MR. JAMES CASTELL HOPKINS (*Canadian Hostility to Annexation*), born in 1864, resigned a responsible post in the Imperial Bank of Canada to become Associate Editor of the Toronto "Empire." He was one of the founders of the Imperial Federation League in Canada and was for several years its Secretary. He has also written numerous political pamphlets.

MR. LOUIS HONORÉ FRECHETTE (*The United States for French Canadians*), born in Levis, Quebec, in 1839, is a descendant of one of the first settlers of New France. He was educated at Nicolet College and Laval University, and was admitted to the bar in 1864. He lived in Chicago from 1866 to 1871, and from 1874 to 1879 represented the county of Levis in the Dominion Parliament. He has edited several French Canadian newspapers and is the foremost poet of Canada.

DR. JOHN SHAW BILLINGS (*Municipal Sanitation in New York and Brooklyn*), born in Switzerland County, Ind., in 1838, was graduated from Miami University in 1857, and from the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati in 1860. He became a surgeon in the United States Army, Medical Inspector for the Army of the Potomac, and subsequently Curator of the Army Medical Museum and Library in Washington. He was also in charge of the Division of Vital Statistics of the tenth and eleventh censuses.

MR. WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE (*What a Daily Newspaper Might be Made*) was born in Massachusetts in 1858. He removed to Chicago in 1868, was connected with the Chicago Public Library from 1874 to 1876, was from 1884 to 1888 a member of the editorial staff of the "Chicago Daily News," and from 1888 to 1892 occupied a similar position with the "Chicago Evening Journal." In 1892 he became associate editor of "The Dial." He has published several books.

DR. CHARLES A. BRIGGS (*The Alienation of Church and People*), born in New York in 1841, studied in the University of Virginia, the Union Theological Seminary, and the University of Berlin. In 1891 he was made Professor of Biblical Theology in the Seminary and gave an inaugural address on "The Authority of Holy Scripture." The New York Presbytery, in October, 1891, entertained charges of heresy against him on account of this address, but subsequently dismissed them. The prosecution appealed to the General Assembly, and he was tried by the Presbytery and acquitted. The General Assembly, however, reversed the decision and he was suspended from the ministry. The final decision of the case depends upon the action of the New York Synod.

PROFESSOR FELIX ADLER (*Modern Scepticism and Ethical Culture*), born in Germany in 1851, was graduated from Columbia College in 1870 and afterwards studied at Berlin and Heidelberg. He was professor of Hebrew and Oriental literature at Cornell University from 1874 to 1876, when he established a new religious society in New York called the Society of Ethical Culture. He published in 1877 a series of discourses under the title of "Creed and Deed."

DR. PAUL CARUS (*The Dawn of a New Religious Era*), born in Germany, took his degree at Tübingen, and held for some time a professorship in the Royal Corps of Cadets in Dresden. Having published some liberal monographs on religio-philosophical questions, he resigned his position and emigrated to the United States. Dr. Carus took charge of "The Open Court" in December, 1887, and of "The Monist" in October, 1890. He has published numerous books.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE

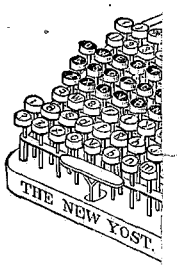
Hill Magazine Club.

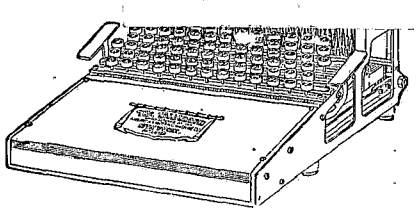
1893

	RECEIVED.	FORWARDED.
MRS. LYDIA. E. PUTNAM, New England Magazine.		
MISS. CLARA D. KNOWLES, The Forum.		Nov 11
MRS. J. D. COTTON, The Century.		
MRS. W. H. CRAWFORD, Harper's Bazar.		11 28
MRS. WILLIAM ROE, Popular Science.	Nov 28	Dec 5
MRS. H. P. KINGSBURY, Atlantic Monthly.		
MRS. I. R. WATERS, Harper's Monthly.		
MISS. MARY GAITREE, Art Interchange.		
MISS. PARKER, Harper's Weekly.		
MRS. A. M. BARBER, Scribner's Magazine.	Jan. 4th	Jan. 8th

RETAIN MONTHLIES ONE WEEK.
HARPER'S WEEKLY & BAZAR TWO DAYS.

SEND FOR C



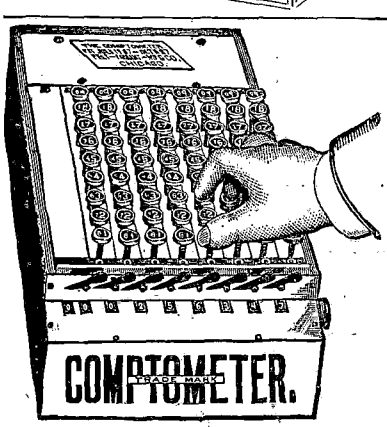


TYPEWRITER.

Our Illustrated Catalogue may be had on application.

The American Writing Machine Co.,

Hartford, Conn.



The COMPTOMETER Performs

All Arithmetical Problems

Connected with accounting and scientific computation at a saving of sixty per cent of time. It insures absolute accuracy and relieves all mental strain. Foots scattered items just as well as regular columns. Many, after trying one Comptometer, have purchased two, three and four.

Potsdam Red Sandstone Co., Potsdam, N. Y., write: "It is no exaggeration to say that the Comptometer enables one man to do the work of two."

Messrs. Martin D. Steevers & Co., Board of Trade, Chicago, write: "The greatest assistance ever invented for the bookkeeper."

Pamphlet free.

BRANCH OFFICE:
54 Franklin Street,
New York.

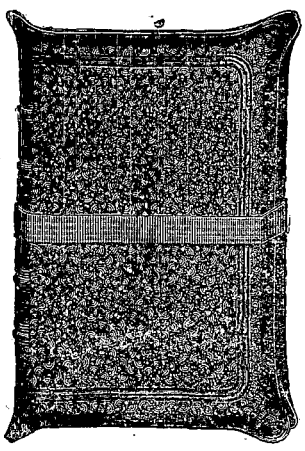
Felt & Tarrant Mfg. Co.
52 to 56 Illinois Street,
CHICAGO.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW

"INTERNATIONAL" TEACHERS' BIBLE.

New Helps.
New Maps.
Fine Bindings.
Clear Print.
Minimum Size.



The Only Teachers' Bible Having Helps Prepared by both American and English Scholars.

THE SMALLEST LARGE TYPE BIBLES PUBLISHED.

THE INTERNATIONAL BIBLES

—ARE—

Moderate in Price, ⁘ Convenient in Size, and Elegantly Bound.

NEARLY 250 DIFFERENT STYLES IN PLAIN TEXT. REFERENCE AND TEACHERS' BIBLES RANGING IN PRICE FROM 30c. TO $15.

SOLD BY ALL FIRST-CLASS DEALERS.

Ask YOUR Bookseller for them. Illustrated Catalogues on Application.

INTERNATIONAL BIBLE AGENCY,
150 Fifth Avenue, NEW YORK.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T. Y. CROWELL & CO.'S NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Crowell's Standard Library. The best works in fiction, history, biography, and poetry, carefully selected and edited. Suitable for any library, and attractive to readers and students of the most refined taste, at a low price. Printed in clear, readable type, on fine English finish paper, and bound in a neat, durable style. Each volume contains a carefully printed and artistic frontispiece, adding greatly to the interest and value of the series. Cloth, leather titles, gilt top, edges slightly trimmed, with ample margins. 12mo, per vol., $ .00.

Sixty volumes are now ready, and other volumes are in preparation. It is the intention of the publishers to include in this series only those works which are fairly entitled to be included among *the best books*, by such authors as George Eliot, Irving, Dickens, Thackeray, Hugo, Walter Scott, Carlyle, Cooper, Boswell, Lytton, etc., etc. Descriptive catalogue sent on application.

Eliot's (George) Complete Works. Including Novels, Poems, Essays, and her "Life and Letters," by her husband. Printed from new electrotype plates made from large type, and illustrated by Frank T. Merrill and H. W. Peirce.

Popular Edition, with half-tone illustrations. *The only low-priced edition containing the "Life and Letters" complete.* 6 vols., 12mo, cloth, $6.00; 6 vols., half russia, marbled edges, $7.50; 6 vols., half pebble calf, gilt top, $8.40; 6 vols., half calf, gilt top, $12.00. *Fine Edition* printed on *fine English* finish paper, illustrated with photogravure frontispieces, 10 vols., 12mo, cloth, gilt top, $15.00; half calf, gilt top, $30.00.

While there is always discussion as to the continuance of the popularity of Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray, the position of George Eliot as a novelist seems to remain unshaken, even unassailed.

Washington Irving's Complete Works. *Revised Edition.* Printed on fine paper. Photogravure frontispieces. 10 vols., cloth, gilt top, $15.00; half calf, gilt top, $30.00.

Carefully revised and compared with the author's text, this new issue furnishes, in good clear type, a most satisfactory edition in attractive bindings, and at a moderate price.

Shelley's Poems Complete. Dowden's text, carefully revised, with additional poems. Imperial edition, illustrated. Full 12mo, cloth, gilt edges, $1.50. Favorite illustrated edition. Cloth, square 8vo, gilt edges, cloth slip wrappers, $2.50; tree calf or full morocco, gilt edges, $6.00.

Also uniform with above in the "Imperial Edition":

The Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song.

Bryant's Early Poems.

$1.50 per vol.

Personal Recollections of John G. Whittier. By Mrs. MARY B. CLAFLIN, author of "Brampton Sketches." 18mo. Ornamental binding with portrait, 75c.

A delightful volume of reminiscences of the good Quaker Poet by a life-long and intimate friend.

Crowell's New Illustrated Library. 26 volumes, 12mo, printed on fine paper, illustrated by Garrett, Merrill, Copeland, and other eminent artists. Photogravure frontispieces. Bound in full cloth, gilt top, $1.50 per vol.; white back and corners, fancy paper on side, gilt tops, $1.50 per vol.; silk, full gilt edges, $2.50 per vol.; half calf, $3.00 per vol. Shelley's Poems, 2 vols.; Tennyson's Poems, 2 vols.; "Jane Eyre," 2 vols.; "Ivanhoe," 2 vols.; "Vanity Fair," 2 vols.; Wordsworth's Poems, 2 vols.; "Les Misérables," 2 vols.; "Anna Karénina," 1 vol.; Carlyle's "French Revolution," 2 vols.; "Tom Brown's School Days," 1 vol.; "Tom Brown at Oxford," 2 vols.; "Cambridge Book of Poetry and Song," 2 vols.; "Romola," 2 vols.; "Lorna Doone," 2 vols.

The publishers have spared neither pains nor expense in their efforts to make this new series of illustrated standard books the finest that has ever been produced at so low a price. Paper, type, illustrations and bindings are all of the highest quality, and combine to make them most attractive books for holiday gifts.

☞ Descriptive catalogue sent on application.

Handy Volume Classics.

38 volumes in dainty bindings, charmingly illustrated and the choicest Books for Holiday Gifts. 15 new volumes added this season, viz.:

"Byron," "Bryant," "Shelley," "Ethics of the Dust," "Queen of the Air," "Mrs. Browning," "Tales from Shakespeare," "Keats," "Seven Lamps of Architecture," "Longfellow's Early Poems," "Evangeline," "Abbé Constantin," "Whittier's Early Poems," "Lowell's Early Poems," "Poems by Two Brothers."

Cloth, vellum finish, gilt top, 75c. Parti-cloth, $1.00. Half leather, $1.25. Full silk, $1.50. Half calf, $2.00. Half levant, $2.50. Full leather, $2.00 per volume.

☞ Descriptive catalogue sent on application.

SOME NOTABLE New Books for Young People.

FAMOUS VOYAGERS AND EXPLORERS. By Mrs. SARAH K. BOLTON, author of the "Famous" Books. 12mo. Illustrated. $1.50.

"Mrs. Bolton never fails to interest and instruct her readers."

THE CHILHOWEE BOYS. By SARAH E. MORRISON. A Story of Frontier Life in 1812. Sure to interest all boys who like stories of adventure. 12mo. Illustrated. $1.50.

MARGARET DAVIS, TUTOR. By ANNA CHAPIN RAY, author of "Half-a-Dozen Girls," "Half-a-Dozen Boys," etc. 12mo. Illustrated. $1.25. Bright, sparkling, and entertaining, like all her previous volumes.

THE MUSICAL JOURNEY OF DOROTHY AND DELIA. By Rev. BRADLEY GILMAN. Fully illustrated by F. G. ATTWOOD. Oblong 8vo, unique binding, $1.25. Quaint, witty, original, and of special interest to boys and girls studying music.

INGLESIDE. By BARBARA YECHTON, author of "Christine's Inspiration," "Wee Billy Buttons," etc. Illustrated by JESSIE MCDERMOTT. 12mo, parti-cloth, $1.25.

Children's Favorite Classics.

Few books written for young people possess greater merit or have had a wider popularity than the volumes in this series. This new uniform style is the most attractive form in which they have ever been issued.

Fully illustrated. Colored frontispiece. Cloth back and corners, fancy paper sides, 8 vols., 16mo, each, $1 00; 8vo edition, with colored borders, attractively bound in white and colors, each, $1.25.

Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.
Through the Looking Glass.
Jackanapes and Daddy Darwin.
The Story of a Short Life.
Lob Lie by the Fire.
The Little Lame Prince.
The Adventures of a Brownie.
The Peep of Day.

☞ Descriptive catalogue sent on application.

Three New Volumes of Religious Classics.

THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. By THOMAS À KEMPIS. Illustrated with 15 drawings depicting scenes in the life of Christ, by H. HOFMANN, Director of the Royal Academy of Arts at Dresden. 12mo, white and gold, 75c ; vellum. 75c.; silk, $1.50; leather, flexible, $2.00.

THE SOUL'S INQUIRIES ANSWERED. Illustrated edition, uniform with illustrated "Daily Food" of last season. 18mo, gilt edge, white back, paper sides, 75c.

GLIMPSES THROUGH LIFE'S WINDOWS. By the Rev. J. R. MILLER, D.D., author of "The Every-Day of Life," etc. Selected from his writings by EVALENA I. FRYER. 16mo, ornamental binding, 75c.

For sale by all Booksellers, or sent, post-paid, on receipt of price.

THOMAS Y. CROWELL & COMPANY,

46 East 14th Street, New York. **100 Purchase Street, Boston.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Century Co's New Books.

Poems Here at Home.

By JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

This latest collection of verses by the Hoosier poet contains some of his best pieces. No one who has read any of Mr. Riley's previous works will need to be told more than this. Such old favorites as "Nothin' to Say," "The Old Man and Jim," "The Raggedy Man," "The Absence of Little Wesley," "Old John Henry," etc., are included among the more than half a hundred poems gathered in this volume, which is illustrated by Kemble. Price, in green cloth binding, $1.50; vellum, $2.50.

Sweet Bells Out of Tune.

A novel of New York society, by Mrs. BURTON HARRISON, author of "The Anglomaniacs," etc. Illustrated by C. D. Gibson. Price, $1.25.

Balcony Stories.

By GRACE KING, author of "Monsieur Motte," etc. Dreamy tales of Louisiana. Illustrated by Sterner, Blum, and others. Price, $1.25.

The White Islander.

A romance of the Indian massacre at Mackinac. By MARY HARTWELL CATHERWOOD, author of "The Romance of Dollard," etc. Illustrated by Francis Day and Henry Sandham. Price, $1.25.

Walter Camp's Book of College Sports.

Containing chapters on Base-ball, Foot-ball, Track Athletics, and Rowing, with the latest rules and many suggestions from the author, who is recognized as the highest authority among college athletes, and who has been for many years the adviser of the most successful Yale teams.

The Century Gallery.

A collection of sixty-four of the best engravings that have appeared in *The Century* and *St. Nicholas* magazines during the past ten years, printed on heavy plate-paper and suitable for framing. Price, in portfolio, 13⅜ x 17⅝ inches, $10.00.

An Embassy to Provence.

By THOMAS A. JANVIER. An account of a trip in a one-horse chaise through the old Provençal towns of Southern France. Price, $1.25.

To Gipsyland.

Describing the author's adventures among the gipsies of Hungary. By ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL, with illustrations by Joseph Pennell. Price, $1.50.

The Public-School System of the United States.

A book of great interest to teachers and to all interested in the cause of education. By Dr. J. M. RICE, who visited the public schools of thirty-six of the principal cities of the United States, and in this volume has set forth the systems of teaching in vogue. 300 pages, cloth, $1.50.

Handbook of English Cathedrals.

By Mrs. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER. A handy volume, in flexible covers, describing the great cathedral churches of England. Profusely illustrated by Joseph Pennell. 400 pages. Cloth, $2.50; full leather, $3.00.

The Autobiography of Tommaso Salvini.

Leaves from the life of the great Italian tragedian. In cloth binding, with frontispiece portrait, $1.50.

Thumb-nail Sketches.

A charming little volume in stamped sheep binding, containing a number of stories of adventure by the artist GEORGE WHARTON EDWARDS, with the author's own illustrations. Price, $1.00.

The Cosmopolis City Club.

By Rev. WASHINGTON GLADDEN. A book describing the organization and work of an ideal (and practical) club whose object was the purification of city politics. Price, in cloth binding, $1.00.

The Great Remembrance, and Other Poems.

A new volume of poems by RICHARD WATSON GILDER. Price, 75 cents.

NEW BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

The Brownies at Home.

A new Brownie Book by PALMER COX. As funny as the other two. Price, $1.50.

The White Cave.

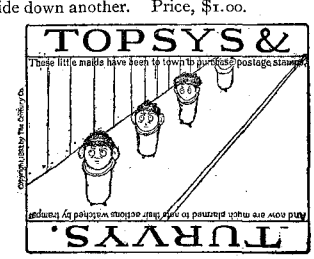
A story of adventure in Australia, by WILLIAM O. STODDARD. Price, $1.50.

Bound Volumes of St. Nicholas.

The numbers for the past year in two parts, containing nearly 1000 pages and as many illustrations. Price, $4 00.

Topsys and Turvys.

The greatest novelty of the year, by P. S. NEWELL. A book of colored pictures that viewed right side up shows one picture and upside down another. Price, $1.00.



TURN THIS UPSIDE DOWN.

Ready November 10th.

The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.

The great book of the year. What two boys saw at the Fair. Hundreds of pictures; hundreds of pages. Price, $1.50.

*** *Any of the books named above may be had of booksellers, or will be sent post-paid to any address on receipt of price by the publishers,*

THE CENTURY CO., 33 East 17th Street, New York.

*** A new catalogue of The Century Co's publications will be sent free on request.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW GIFT BOOKS.

The Queen of the Adriatic;

Or, Venice Mediæval and Modern. By Clara Erskine Clement, author of "Art and Artists." Uniform in style with the preceding volumes, "Genoa the Superb" and "The Lily of the Arno." The author describes the Grand Canals, Cathedrals, Palaces, Square of St. Mark's, Bridge of Sighs, etc., etc., with sketches of the romantic history associated with them in this, the most unique city in the world. Illustrated with twenty photogravures from recent photographs.

1 vol., crown 8vo, vellum cloth, illuminated in gold and colors, ... $3.00

Ivanhoe. Illustrated Holiday Edition.

With introduction and notes by Andrew Lang.

The most magnificent edition of this great masterpiece of Sir Walter Scott's ever made.

The text is printed on fine paper in a small page, new and large type with ample margins.

Of the 20 illustrations in etching and photogravure, twelve are original etchings drawn and engraved in Paris by the celebrated French artist Ad. Lalauze, printed on imperial Japan paper. The binding is stamped in gold and colors.

2 vols., crown 8vo, cloth, in cloth box, ... $6.00

Rome of to-day and Yesterday.

By John Dennie. A faithful and graphic pen picture of the "eternal city" describing the city as now appears—its ruins—castles—palaces and cathedrals; with sketches of its history, its triumphs, and its reverses. A romance, history and guide book combined. Illustrated with twenty half-tone reproductions of photographs of the most important points of interest.

1 vol., crown 8vo, cloth, gilt, ... $2.50

Jenny Wren's Boarding House.

By James Otis, author of "Toby Tyler," "Mr. Stubb's Brother," "Raising the Pearl," etc.

An excellent story of newsboy life in New York, written in the happy style with which Mr. Otis has for years captivated juvenile as well as grown-up readers. Illustrated with numerous drawings by W. A. Rogers.

1 vol., quarto, cloth, ... $1.25

Six Boys.

By Elizabeth W. Champney, author of the "Vassar Girls" series.

This story is sure to rank among the most popular of books for young people for many years to come. It is written in a fresh, invigorating style, and tells of haps and mishaps of a family of boys of all ages. Illustrated with original designs by Merrill.

1 vol., crown 8vo, cloth, gilt, ... $1.50

Miss Parloa's Young Housekeeper.

Particularly for beginners—for those who have just begun, or about to begin, to keep house for two or three. Tells how to furnish the kitchen sensibly; the right way to buy food and to care for it; about preparing all kinds of dishes by wholesome and economical methods; not to speak of many other things of great importance to young housekeepers.

1 vol., 12mo, cloth, ... $1.00

Melody.

By Laura E. Richards, author of "Captain January," "Queen Hildegarde," etc. The thousands of readers who value the tender pathos of "Captain January" will welcome this simple and lovely story, as a further development of a remarkable sympathy with all that is noble and beautiful in human nature, and find in it a high power of literary expression. This simple story of the blind child will find its way to a very large circle of admirers.

1 vol., 16mo, cloth, unique style, ... $0.50

When I Was Your Age.

By Laura E. Richards. A series of papers which has already delighted the many readers of St. Nicholas, now revised and published in book form, with many additions. The title most happily introduces the reader to the charming home life of Dr. Howe and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe.

1 vol., quarto, cloth, gilt top, ... $1.25

Chatterbox for 1893.

The King of books for young people. Over Two Million of the Annual volumes have been sold and all over the globe.

No volume has ever given so much or so good value for the money. Over 200 original illustrations. It is welcomed by children of all ages.

1 vol., quarto, illuminated boards, ... $1.25

For Sale by all Booksellers, or sent postpaid on receipt of price by the Publishers,

ESTES & LAURIAT, Boston, Mass.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A. C. McCLURG & CO.'S NEW BOOKS.

RUSSIA and TURKEY in the NINETEENTH CENTURY.

By ELIZABETH WORMELEY LATIMER, author of "France in the Nineteenth Century, 1830–1890." Fully and handsomely illustrated, with Portraits of Prominent Characters. 8vo, $2.50.

The author of "France in the Nineteenth Century," which has become so popular during the past year, presents her readers with this companion volume which must take its place among the valuable contributions to popular historical literature. Dramatically and vividly she pictures the important events which have occurred in the two countries from the time of Alexander I. of Russia, to the present, including the Crimean War, the atrocious exile system, the persecution of the Jews, the conflict between Mohammedanism and Christianity, etc., etc.

PICTURES FROM NATURE AND LIFE.

Poems by KATE RAWORTH HOLMES. With half-tone illustrations by HELEN E. STEVENSON. $2.50.

The holiday season will scarcely furnish a more attractive gift-book than this, in which the delicate sentiment of the verse is matched by the beauty of the letterpress and the unusual illustrations. The opening poem, "One Fair Day," is one of those delightful, sunshiny reminiscences whose romance, sung in musical numbers, haunts the memory like a chapter from one's own experience. The bright fulfilment of that "fair-day" is told in the poem entitled "The Bride."

THE COMPLETE ANGLER. Limited Edition.

THE COMPLETE ANGLER. By ISAAC WALTON. Edited, with an Introduction, by Edward Gilpin Johnson. With border Illustrations, printed in color. Edition limited to 500 numbered copies. *Net* $4.00.

Among the many and beautiful editions of this old classic which have been issued, this one will have a place of its own. It is certainly original in the decorative illustrations which almost cover the wide borders surrounding the text. The 500 copies issued will scarcely be enough to supply the many enthusiastic lovers of the genial old philosopher and fisherman.

RUMOUR.

By ELIZABETH SHEPPARD. With an Introduction and Notes by Harriet Prescott Spofford. With Portraits. Uniform with our fine edition of "Charles Auchester" and "Counterparts." 2 vols., 12mo, gilt tops. $2.50.

"Rumour" was the last of Miss Sheppard's three most popular romances. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the story, it derives especial interest from the fact that Beethoven stands as the model of one of its characters, just as Mendelssohn was portrayed in "Charles Auchester." The complete series, "Charles Auchester," "Counterparts," and "Rumour" (six vols., uniformly bound, $7.50), stand alone as romances suffused with the spirit of music and largely concerned with the lives of musicians.

THE BAILIFF OF TEWKESBURY.

By C. E. D. PHELPS and LEIGH NORTH. Illustrated. 12mo, $1.00.

This is an unusually clever and attractive story of English life in the last half of the sixteenth century, the scene being laid in and about Tewkesbury and Stratford-on-Avon. Shakespeare, as a young man, is introduced as one of the characters, with much skill and with perfect propriety. It is a story of incident; the action is vigorous, the descriptions are vivid and truthful, the interest is well-sustained, and the atmosphere is sweet and wholesome.

GARRICK'S PUPIL.

By AUGUSTIN FILON. Translated by J. V. Prichard. Illustrated. 12mo, $1.00.

This story is a faithful and brilliant study of London life in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The times of Reynolds, of Garrick, of Johnson, and of Burke have been carefully studied and skilfully reproduced. The author, with a fine historic sense, has succeeded in conveying a true idea of the social and political forces that fermented in the society of London during that remarkable period.

THE LOST CANYON OF THE TOLTECS.

An Account of Strange Adventures in Central America. By CHARLES SUMNER SEELEY, Author of "The Spanish Galleon." 12mo, 275 pages, $1.00.

A vivid story of adventure among the Cliff-Dwellers of Central America. The interest of the reader is held unflaggingly from the beginning to the end by the variety of incidents and the vividness of the narrative. It is filled with thrilling adventures which are intricately involved with an attractive love story. It is even more absorbing than "The Spanish Galleon," and is told in the same direct and simple style.

THE ENGLISH HUMORISTS.

By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. Finely printed and bound. 16mo, gilt top, $1.00.

Thackeray first delivered his "English Humorists" in the form of lectures in London, in 1851. Men of letters, rank, and fashion flocked to hear the renowned novelist descant on his great predecessors in humor and fiction from Swift to Goldsmith. The popularity of these lectures in book form was immediate, and now it is considered "one of the most delightful little books in the language."

SARTOR RESARTUS.

The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdrockh. By THOMAS CARLYLE. Finely printed and bound. 16mo, gilt top, $1.00.

"Sartor Resartus" and "The English Humorists" mentioned above are issued in the same attractive style—good paper, clear type, handy size, and tasteful binding—in which we issued "Heroes and Hero Worship," "Sesame and Lilies," "Bacon's Essays," "The Complete Angler," etc., and will be uniform with them.

For sale by booksellers generally, or will be sent, postpaid, on receipt of the price by the publishers,

A. C. McCLURG & CO., CHICAGO.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY.

The Natural History of Intellect, and Other Papers.

By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. *Riverside Edition.* With an Index to Emerson's Works. 1 vol., 12mo, gilt top, $1.75; *Little Classic Edition*, 18mo, $1.25.

An additional volume of Emerson's Essays, including The Natural History of Intellect (never before printed); Memory; Boston; Michael Angelo; Milton; Papers from the "Dial": Thoughts on Modern Literature, Walter Savage Landor, Prayers, Agriculture of Massachusetts, Europe and European Books, Past and Present, A Letter, The Tragic.

Letters of Asa Gray.

Edited by JANE LORING GRAY. With portraits and other illustrations. 2 vols., crown 8vo, $4.00.

Professor Gray was not only one of the foremost of botanists, but a man of rare scientific genius and great literary skill. His Letters are highly valuable for the range and interest of their subjects, and attractive by virtue of their charming style and the very engaging personality they reveal.

A Sketch of the History of the Apostolic Church.

By OLIVER J. THATCHER, Professor in the University of Chicago. 16mo, $1.25. A thoroughly interesting book, giving in admirable form the results of the latest researches in the early history of the Christian Church.

The Witness to Immortality, in Literature, Philosophy, and Life.

By Rev. GEORGE A. GORDON, of the Old South Church, Boston. 12mo, $1.50. Dr. Gordon here presents the fruits of thoughtful study on the Immortal Life, in the Scriptures, in the world's deepest poetry and philosophy, in the Epistles of Paul, and in the life and words of Christ.

Sub-Cœlum: A Sky-Built Human World.

By A. P. RUSSELL, author of "In a Club Corner," "A Club of One," "Library Notes," and "Characteristics." 16mo, $1.25. Mr. Russell's picture of an ideal society and mode of life is interesting, suggestive, and singularly free from everything visionary and fantastic.

A Japanese Interior.

By ALICE M. BACON, author of "Japanese Girls and Women." 16mo, $1.25. A book of equal value and interest, describing from personal observation Japanese home and school life, theatres, travelling, hotels, temples, food, dress, dolls' festivals, wrestling contests, curio men, fireworks, the climate, earthquakes, etc.

The Son of a Prophet.

By GEORGE ANSON JACKSON. 16mo, $1.25. An historical story of great interest, giving a view of times and persons possessing a kind of sacred fascination. The scene is in Palestine and Egypt in the reign of King Solomon, and the author is very successful in creating the character of the man who wrote the wonderful Book of Job.

The Dayspring from on High.

Compiled by EMMA FORBES CARY. 18mo, $1.00. A little book of choice passages, comprising quotations from the Bible, and extracts from religious and general literature, largely from the great writers of the Roman Church.

Longfellow's Poetical Works.

New *Handy-Volume Edition.* In five volumes, 16mo, printed from beautiful large type, on opaque paper, bound in a simple but very attractive style, and put up in a cloth box. $6.25.

An entirely new edition, from new plates, and all the details have been studied to make it the favorite one for lovers of choice books.

Longfellow's Poetical Works.

New *Cambridge Edition.* From entirely new plates, printed from large type, on opaque paper, and bound in flexible covers. With a steel portrait. Crown 8vo, $2.00.

Longfellow's Complete Poems (including Christus) in a form which promises to be the ideal one-volume edition of this universally popular poet.

A Roadside Harp.

A new volume of strong, suggestive, remarkable poems, by LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY, author of "The White Sail," etc. Attractively bound. 16mo, gilt top, $1.00.

Rachel Stanwood:

A Story of the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. By LUCY GIBBONS MORSE, author of "The Chezzles." $1.25.

A very engaging story of the anti-slavery agitation in New York City about 1850, describing life among the Quakers, containing charming scenes of child-life, and including several famous persons among its characters.

Polly Oliver's Problem.

A Story of special interest to girls, but delightful to everybody, by Mrs. WIGGIN, author of "The Bird's Christmas Carol," "The Story of Patsy," "Timothy's Quest," "A Cathedral Courtship," etc. Illustrated, 16mo, $1.25.

An Average Man.

A New Edition of Mr. Robert Grant's well-known novel, in a new and neat binding. Price reduced to $1,25.

Rutledge.

A New Edition, from new plates, of Mrs. Harris's very popular novel. Bound in attractive style. $1.25.

An Utter Failure.

A New Edition of Mrs. Harris's latest novel. $1.25.

Mrs. Whitney's Stories.

New Edition, with revisions. In seventeen volumes, in new and attractive binding. Price, $1.25 each.

Faith Gartney's Girlhood.
The Gayworthys.
A Summer in Leslie Goldthwaite's Life.
We Girls: A Home Story.
Sights and Insights (two volumes).
The Other Girls.
Real Folks.
Patience Strong's Outings.
Hitherto: A Story of Yesterdays.
Boys at Chequasset.
Odd, or Even?
Homespun Yarns. Short Stories.
Bonnyborough.
Mother Goose for Grown Folks.
Ascutney Street.
A Golden Gossip.

Very few American stories are so popular as Mrs. Whitney's, and none are more wholesome or admirable in character and influence.

For sale by all Booksellers. Sent, post-paid, on receipt of price by the Publishers,

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, 4 Park St., Boston. 11 East 17th St., New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAKE NO MISTAKE NEXT YEAR

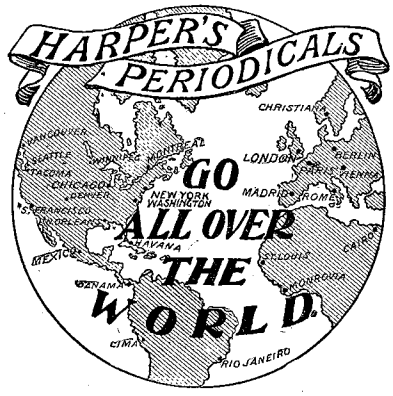
Subscribe to HARPER'S PERIODICALS

They "represent the highest types of American Literary and Illustrative work."
—NEW YORK TIMES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE

35 cents a Copy. $4.00 a Year.

Among the contributors to HARPER'S MAGAZINE for 1894 will be: CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER (*The Golden House*, a new novel); GEORGE DU MAURIER (*Trilby*, a new novel); BRANDER MATTHEWS (*Vignettes of Manhattan*); OWEN WISTER (*Stories of the Wild West*); EDWIN LORD WEEKS (*From the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf by Caravan*, also, *Sketches of India*); ALFRED PARSONS; RICHARD HARDING DAVIS (*Parisian Sketches*); POULTNEY BIGELOW; FREDERIC REMINGTON (*Sierra Madre Mountains in Mexico*); JULIAN RALPH, and others (*The New South*); W. G. TIFFANY and Dr. W. A. BROOKS (on Athletic Sports); R. R. BOWKER (editing the series of Great American Industries); WILLIAM SHARP (*Rome in Africa*); W. D. HOWELLS (*Personal Recollections*); LAURENCE HUTTON (*Literary Landmarks of Jerusalem*); WILLIAM MCLENNAN; Rev. HENRY HAYMAN, D.D.; Miss KATHARINE ROWLAND; Miss ELISE ALLEN; CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON; ST. GEORGE MIVART; WILLIAM HAMILTON GIBSON; SAMUEL SCUDDER; Mr. ABBEY (*Illustrations of Shakespeare's Comedies*); and others.



HARPER'S WEEKLY

10 cents a Copy. $4.00 a Year.

HARPER'S WEEKLY for 1894 will present, among a brilliant array of the brightest features, a new *Serial Story* by Miss MARY E. WILKINS; *Short Stories* by the best-known writers; papers on the *Army and Navy*, with valuable illustrations; *Portraits* of distinguished men and women of the time; papers in *Special Lines* calling for the highest order of talent; accurate descriptions of every *Public Event* and notable disaster, illustrated by pencil and camera; valuable views of *This Busy World*; notes on *Music and Drama*; timely information and comment on all matters pertaining to *Amateur Sport*; superb illustrations will be presented by such distinguished artists as W. T. SMEDLEY, A. B. FROST, FREDERIC REMINGTON, HOWARD PYLE, C. S. REINHART, ALBERT E. STERNER, T. DE THULSTRUP, W. H. HYDE, R. CATON WOODVILLE, CHARLES GRAHAM, VICTOR PERARD, R. F. ZOGBAUM, P. S. NEWELL, H. M. WILDER, E. W. KEMBLE, together with many other valuable and noteworthy features which will entitle the WEEKLY among periodicals to the world's highest praise.

HARPER'S BAZAR

10 cents a Copy. $4.00 a Year.

HARPER'S BAZAR begins, with the first number for January, 1894, the twenty-seventh volume of the most popular weekly periodical for women. It is as a Fashion Journal that the BAZAR is unsurpassed. The features for 1894 will include, among many others, the beautiful designs of A. SANDOZ, drawn in Paris from *Charles F. Worth models; Fortnightly Pattern-sheet Supplements; Serial Stories* by WILLIAM BLACK and WALTER BESANT; *Short Stories* by the brightest writers among women; *Essays* and *Social Chats; Amateur Theatricals; Embroidery* and *Needlework; Cooking* and *Serving; Music* and *Art; Out-door Sports* and *In-door Games; Answers to Correspondents; Facetiæ*, etc., etc.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE

5 cents a Copy. $2.00 a Year.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE is a *live* journal for *live* boys and girls. The leading serial for 1894 will be *Cadet Days*, a story of West Point life, by CAPTAIN CHARLES KING. Other attractive features will be stories by KIRK MUNROE, the author of the popular "Mates" stories; a serial story of a girl's life in Old New Orleans, by RUTH MCENERY STUART; *True Tales of Adventure*, by CAPTAIN HOWARD PATTERSON, and others; *Plays for Amateurs*, by JOHN KENDRICK BANGS, and H. G. PAINE; *How to Do Things; Every-day Marvels*, and many other delightful attractions for the boys and girls of America and the world. Published every week.

Booksellers and Postmasters usually receive subscriptions. Subscriptions sent direct to the Publishers should be accompanied by Post-office Money Order or Draft. Postage *Free* in the United States, Canada, or Mexico. Subscriptions will begin from the date of the receipt of the order unless otherwise directed.

Franklin Square, HARPER & BROTHERS, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HARPER & BROTHERS' NEW BOOKS.

The Cloister and the Hearth;

Or, Maid, Wife, and Widow. A Matter-of-fact Romance. By CHARLES READE. Illustrated from Drawings by WILLIAM MARTIN JOHNSON. Two volumes. 8vo, Illuminated Silk, Uncut Edges and Gilt Tops, $8.00. (*About Ready.*)

Masters and Masterpieces of Engraving.

By WILLIS O. CHAPIN. Illustrated with Sixty Engravings and Heliogravures. 8vo, Ornamental Leather, Uncut Edges and Gilt Top, $10.00. (*About Ready.*)

The Christ-Child in Art.

A Study of Interpretation. By HENRY VAN DYKE. Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, Ornamental, Uncut Edges and Gilt Top, $4.00.

Riders of Many Lands.

By THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE, Brevet Lieutenant-colonel, U. S. Army. Illustrated with Numerous Drawings by FREDERIC REMINGTON, and from Photographs of Oriental Subjects. 8vo, Cloth, Ornamental, Uncut Edges and Gilt Top, $4.00.

The Boy Travellers in Southern Europe.

Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey through Italy, Southern France, and Spain, with visits to Gibraltar and the Islands of Sicily and Malta. By THOMAS W. KNOX. Profusely Illustrated. Square 8vo, Cloth, Ornamental, $3.00.

Our Great West.

By JULIAN RALPH, Author of "On Canada's Frontier," etc., Illustrated. 8vo, Cloth, Ornamental, $2.50.

A History of the Roman Empire.

From its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius. By J. B. Bury, M.A. Illustrated. 12mo, Cloth, $1.50.

On the Road Home.

Poems. By MARGARET E. SANGSTER. Illustrated. 16mo, Cloth, Ornamental, Uncut Edges and Gilt Top, $1.25.

To Right the Wrong.

A Novel. By EDNA LYALL. Illustrated. Post 8vo, Cloth, Ornamental, $1.50.

Letters of James Russell Lowell.

Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. With Portraits. Two volumes. 8vo, Cloth, Uncut Edges and Gilt Tops, $8.00. (*In a Box.*)

The Prince of India;

Or, Why Constantinople Fell. By LEW. WALLACE, Author of "Ben-Hur," etc. Two volumes. 16mo, Cloth, Ornamental, $2.50; Half Leather, $4.00; Three-Quarter Leather, $5.00; Three-Quarter Calf, $6.00; Three-Quarter Crushed Levant, $8.00. (*In a Box.*)

The Coast of Bohemia.

A Novel. By W. D. HOWELLS. Illustrated. Post 8vo, Cloth, $1.50.

By Henry James:

Essays in London and Elsewhere. Post 8vo, Cloth, Ornamental, $1.25.

The Wheel of Time. Three Stories: *The Wheel of Time*, *Collaboration*, and *Owen Wingrave*. 16mo, Cloth, Ornamental, $1.00.

The Private Life. Three Stories: *The Private Life*, *Lord Beaupré*, and *The Visits*. 16mo, Cloth, Ornamental, $1.00.

Von Moltke's Works.

New Volumes:

Essays, Speeches, and Memoirs. 2 vols. 8vo, Cloth, $5.00.

Von Moltke as a Correspondent. 8vo, Cloth, $2.50. (*About Ready.*)

The Distaff Series:

Short Stories. Edited by CONSTANCE CARY HARRISON.—**The Kindergarten.** Edited by KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN.—**Household Art.** Edited by CANDACE WHEELER.—**Early Prose and Verse.** Edited by ALICE MORSE EARLE and EMILY ELLSWORTH FORD.—**The Literature of Philanthropy.** Edited by FRANCES A. GOODALE.—**Woman and the Higher Education.** Edited by ANNA C. BRACKETT. 16mo, Cloth, Ornamental, $1.00 a volume.

Index to Harper's Magazine.

Vols. I–LXXXV. Alphabetical, Analytical, and Classified. 8vo, Cloth, $5.00.

Published by HARPER & BROTHERS, New York.

☞ *The above works are for sale by all booksellers, or will be sent by the publishers, postage prepaid, to any part of the United States, Canada, or Mexico, on receipt of the price.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS' NEW BOOKS.

DAVID BALFOUR. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

Being Memoirs of his Adventures at Home and Abroad. 12mo, cloth, $1.50.

"Lovers of fiction have a great treat before them when they sit down to read 'David Balfour.' We have not hesitated to compare Mr. Stevenson with Scott, when Scott is at his best, nor shall we hesitate to compare him with Thackeray, even in 'Henry Esmond,' though a better book with which to compare this marvellous story would be 'Barry Lyndon.'"—R. H. STODDARD in *Mail and Express*.

With Thackeray in America.

By EYRE CROWE, A.R.A. With 121 illustrations from sketches by the author. Small 4to, $2.00.

"Thanks to Mr. Crowe, who was Thackeray's secretary during his American tour, we are allowed to participate in the journey. It is a book that no lover of Thackeray will be willing to leave unread. Not only is it interesting for the near view it gives of the author of 'Vanity Fair,' but for the picture it paints of the United States forty years ago."—*Critic*.

Meh Lady.

A Story of the War. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. *New Edition*. Illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. Small folio, $1.50.

A new and beautifully illustrated edition of this charming Southern classic, in uniform style with the illustrated edition of "Marse Chan," issued last year.

"Nothing more beautiful has ever been penned by a Southern writer."—*New Orleans Picayune*.

THE ONE I KNEW THE BEST OF ALL. By MRS. BURNETT.

A Memory of the Mind of a Child. Fully illustrated by R. B. Birch. 12mo, $2.00.

Mrs. Burnett's story is unique in literature, being the frankly autobiographical narrative of the experiences of a child up to girlhood, with its sensations and emotions as each new phase and problem of life opens to it. In no sense, however, is it a juvenile story, being distinctly the study by a mature mind of that wholly different world which a child's mental life presents.

The Land of Poco Tiempo.

By CHARLES F. LUMMIS. Illustrated. 8vo, $2.50.

Mr. Lummis has made the land of Poco Tiempo—New Mexico and adjacent regions—his own subject; and in this volume he describes its social customs, racial types, its prodigious ruins, and sublime landscapes in his well-known vivid and picturesque style.

Customs and Fashions in Old New England.

By ALICE MORSE EARLE. 12mo, $1.25.

In this volume Mrs. Earle, the author of the popular book, "Sabbath in Puritan New England," describes the daily life, habits, and customs of the Puritans, in the same interesting, sympathetic and witty style that marked her former work.

WOMEN OF THE VALOIS AND VERSAILLES COURTS.

From the French of Imbert de Saint Amand.

Women of the Valois Court. The Court of Louis XIV. | The Court of Louis XV. Last Years of Louis XV.

Each with numerous portraits, 12mo, $1.25. The set, 4 vols., half calf, $10.00; cloth, $5.00.

"In his previous volumes upon Famous Women of the French Court, M. de Saint-Amand apostrophized the virtues of Marie Antoinette, the Empress Josephine, Marie Louise, Duchess of Angoulême, and Duchess of Berry. He now reverts to a group of even more distinction and of quite as much historic interest. He presents a group of feminine types, discovering almost every shade of human passions and ambitions."—*Philadelphia Ledger*.

NEW FICTION BY POPULAR AUTHORS.

Ivar the Viking. By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. 12mo, $1.50.

A story of Norse life in the fourth century.

The Watchmaker's Wife, and Other Stories. By FRANK R. STOCKTON. 12mo, $1.25.

Containing six of the author's inimitable tales.

Opinions of a Philosopher. By ROBERT GRANT. Illustrated. 12mo, $1.00.

A sequel to the "Reflections of a Married Man."

Tom Sylvester. By T. R. SULLIVAN. 12mo, $1.50.

The Copperhead. By HAROLD FREDERIC. 12mo, $1.00.

NEW VOLUMES OF ESSAYS.

Virginibus Puerisque and Other Papers. By R. L. STEVENSON. With etched portrait.

Letters to Dead Authors. By ANDREW LANG. With etched portrait and four additional letters. Each 16mo, $1.25. Two new volumes in the cameo edition.

Stelligeri, and Other Essays Concerning America. By BARRETT WENDELL. 12mo, $1.25.

Windfalls of Observation, for the Edification of the Young and the Solace of Others. By E. S. MARTIN. 12mo, $1.25.

The Sunny Days of Youth: A Book for Boys and Young Men. By the author of "How to be Happy though Married." 12mo, $1.25.

An Old Master, and Other Political Essays. By WOODROW WILSON, Ph.D., LL.D. 12mo, $1.00.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 743-745 Broadway, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Primer of Philosophy. By Dr. PAUL CARUS. 220 pages, cloth, $1.00.

A simple, clear and thorough exposition of monistic positivism, or scientific philosophy. Special attention is given to a careful definition and explanation of philosophical terms as they must be understood in the light of recent advances in science.

Religion of Science Library. A collection of bi-monthly reprints of articles heretofore published in *The Open Court*. Paper covers, 25 cents; yearly, $1.50.

I. July. **The Religion of Science.** By PAUL CARUS.
II. September. **The Science of Thought.** By MAX MÜLLER.
III. November. **The Science of Language.** By MAX MÜLLER.

The Science of Mechanics. A Critical and Historical Exposition of Its Principles. By Dr. ERNST MACH, Professor of Physics in the University of Prague, Austria. Translated from the second German edition, by Thomas J. McCormack. 250 illustrations and cuts. 1 vol., half morocco, gilt top, 538 pages, $2.50.

The work, which has attracted the attention of thinkers everywhere, is a simple, clear and profound presentation of the principles of the science of mechanics, from the point of view of evolution and the theory of knowledge, by which the science is freed from metaphysicism.

An Examination of Weismannism. By Prof. J. G. ROMANES. 221 pages, cloth, gilt top. Price $1.00.

This work is mainly devoted to a presentation of Weismannism, in comparison with the alternative theories of Darwin, Galton and others, and a critical examination of the same in the light of the facts of the most recent biological science.

Darwin and After Darwin. An Exposition of the Darwinian Theory and a Discussion of Post-Darwinian Questions. By GEORGE JOHN ROMANES.

1. The Darwinian Theory. 460 pages. 125 illustrations. Cloth, $2.00.

2. Post-Darwinian Questions. (*In preparation.*)

Diseases of the Will. By TH. RIBOT. Authorized translation by Merwin-Marie Snell. From the eighth French edition. (*In preparation.*)

The Free Trade Struggle in England. By M. M. TRUMBULL. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.

"The writer of the present work is a keen observer and a careful student. It may be hoped that by arrangement with the author, the Cobden Club will be able to produce a cheap edition of the volume for circulation in this country. There are parts in England where it would be eminently seasonable. It would seem as if the southern section of the country specially needed the instructions which Mr. Trumbull's treatise imparts. The book is written in a terse and racy style, and presents the story of the free trade struggle in England in a most attractive form."—*Newcastle Chronicle.*

"The narrative has a life and a 'go' that is rare, coupled with a finish that reminds one of McCarthy's 'History of Our Own Times.'"—*The Dial.*

Earl Grey on Free Trade and Civil Service Reform, with comments by M. M. TRUMBULL. Pamphlet form. Price 10 cents.

Wheelbarrow: Articles and discussions on the Labor Question. By the same author. 300 pp. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.

"The papers show a very keen insight into labor problems."—*Boston Herald.*

"Chicago presses have issued many books of more or less importance on the labor question, but none which contain more hard common sense and practical wisdom than the article entitled "Wheelbarrow."—*Chicago Times.*

Contents of THE MONIST for October, 1893.

Yearly, $2.00. Single Copies, 50 Cents.

THE PRESENT STATE OF MATHEMATICS,	PROF. FELIX KLEIN.
CORRELATION OF MENTAL AND PHYSICAL POWERS,	J. VENN.
DR. WEISMANN ON HEREDITY AND PROGRESS,	PROF. C. LLOYD MORGAN.
AGNOSTICISM. A Posthumous Essay,	WILLIAM MACCALL.
AUTOMATISM AND SPONTANEITY,	DR. EDMUND MONTGOMERY.
THE NERVOUS CENTRE OF FLIGHT IN COLEOPTERA,	DR. ALFRED BINET.
HEREDITY VERSUS EVOLUTION,	THEODORE GILMAN.
SÉBASTIEN CASTELLION AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION,	THEODORE STANTON.
THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES AT THE WORLD'S FAIR,	EDITOR.
LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE. France,	LUCIEN ARRÉAT.
CRITICISMS. Observations on some points in James' Psychology,	DR. W. L. WORCESTER.
BOOK REVIEWS.	

(SEND FOR SAMPLE COPIES AND CATALOGUES.)

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, 770 Monon Building, 324 Dearborn Street, **CHICAGO.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR AUTUMN AND CHRISTMAS SEASON OF 1893.

The Verdant Green Series. New and very attractive editions of these famous College Stories, with all the original illustrations.

THE ADVENTURES OF MR. VERDANT GREEN, AN OXFORD FRESHMAN.

By CUTHBERT BEDE. In three parts. Part I. The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green. Part II. The Further Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green. Part III. Mr. Verdant Green Married and Done For. With 4 etched frontispieces and etched titles, and 108 illustrations by the author. 2 vols.

LITTLE MR. BOUNCER AND HIS FRIEND, VERDANT GREEN. Also **TALES OF COLLEGE LIFE.**

I. A Long Vacation Vigil. II. "Aeger," or, Mistaken Identity. III. The Only Man Left in College on Christmas Day. By CUTHBERT BEDE. With etched title and etched frontispiece, and 78 illustrations by the author. 1 vol.

Together, 3 vols. 12mo, cloth, extra, gilt top, $5.00; half calf, extra, gilt top, $10.00; half morocco, extra, gilt top, $10.00

Also a limited large-paper edition of 250 numbered copies on Dickinson hand-made paper, with proofs of the etchings on Japan paper, 3 vols. 8vo, cloth, uncut, $15.00, *net.*

A Volume of Short Stories by the Author of "With Fire and Sword." Daintily Bound and Beautifully Illustrated.

YANKO THE MUSICIAN, AND OTHER STORIES.

Translated from the Polish of Henryk Sienkiewicz by JEREMIAH CURTIN. Illustrated by Edmund H. Garrett. 16mo, cloth, extra, gilt top, $1.25.

None of the stories have ever before been translated into English, although Yanko the Musician, the initial story of the volume, won the author his fame. In a review of Sienkiewicz in Blackwood's Magazine, this beautiful story was fittingly described as *a little poem in prose, absolutely perfect of its kind.*

A New Life of Shakespeare. Handy in Size, and from the best Sources.

THE LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.

Copied from the best sources without comment. By DANIEL W. WILDER. 16mo, cloth, $1.00.

There exists no brief and accurate Life of Shakespeare, notwithstanding the many readers of his works. To meet this requirement the present volume has been compiled. The material which it contains has been copied from the best sources and the compiler has inserted no opinions of his own.

Governor Russell's Public Addresses.

THE SPEECHES AND MESSAGES OF WILLIAM E. RUSSELL.

Edited by CHARLES THEODORE RUSSELL, Jr., with an introduction by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and a portrait of Governor Russell. Crown 8vo, cloth, $2.50.

The Popular Edition of Francis Parkman's New Work, completing his Histories.

A HALF-CENTURY OF CONFLICT.

By FRANCIS PARKMAN. Popular edition, with three maps. 2 vols. 12mo, cloth, $3.00.

"The characteristics that prove Mr. Parkman to be the first of living American historians, and possibly of all American historians, living or dead, are in this work strikingly manifest."—*The Critic.*

The World's Best Hymns. New Edition, with additional hymns.

THE WORLD'S BEST HYMNS.

With an Introduction by Prof. J. W. CHURCHILL, Andover Theological Seminary, and forty beautiful pictures by Louis K. Harlow. New Edition. 16mo, decorated cloth, $1.50; China silk, hand-painted, with designs of flowers, $2.50.

To the new edition of this admirable and very successful collection of favorite sacred Poems and Hymns have been added "Crossing the Bar," by Lord Tennyson (sung at his funeral), "O God, Our Hope in Ages Past" (sung at the funeral of Bishop Brooks), together with selections from Wither, Thomas Campion, Martin Luther, Ignatius Loyola, Dean Stanley, etc.

Olympe de Clèves. A Romance of the Court of Louis XV., by Alexandre Dumas, never before translated. Uniform with the Library Edition of the Works of Dumas.

OLYMPE DE CLEVES.

By ALEXANDRE DUMAS, with etched frontispiece and engraved portrait of the Comtesse de Mailly, by Petitot. 2 vols., 12mo, cloth, extra, gilt top, $3.00; half calf, extra, gilt top, or half morocco, extra, gilt top, $6.00.

"A masterpiece."—*William Ernest Henley, the eminent critic, in Chambers' Cyclopædia, new edition.*

This remarkable romance, one of the greatest ever written by the greatest of all romantic writers, has not previously been translated into English. As to the hero and heroine Dumas himself says: "History created Banniere; I created Olympe de Clèves."

A new Historical Romance by Henryk Sienkiewicz, completing "With Fire and Sword" and "The Deluge."

PAN MICHAEL.

An Historical Novel of Poland, the Ukraine, and Turkey. A sequel to "With Fire and Sword" "The Deluge." Translated by JEREMIAH CURTIN. Crown 8vo, cloth, $2.00.

This great historical romance completes the remarkable series of historical novels by Sienkiewicz, begun with "With Fire and Sword" and continued in "The Deluge." These powerful works have been received everywhere with enthusiastic commendation, and the publication of the final story of the trilogy can only add to and continue their popularity.

Xenophon's Art of Horsemanship.

THE ART OF HORSEMANSHIP.

Translated from the writings of XENOPHON, with preface by Dr. Morris H. Morgan. With several full-page plates and numerous illustrations from the antique. 12mo, cloth, gilt top, $1.50; half calf, extra, or half morocco, extra, gilt top, $3.25; limp morocco, gilt edges, $3.75.

This work has been translated into various languages, but the present edition is, so far as known, its first publication as a separate work in English. Even after more than twenty-three centuries it is still in the main a sound and excellent guide for so much of the field as it covers.

New and beautiful Library Edition of Lord Lytton's Works, now complete.

THE NOVELS AND ROMANCES OF EDWARD BULWER LYTTON (LORD LYTTON).

With 40 exquisite frontispieces etched by W. H. W. BICKNELL from drawings by Edmund H. Garrett. 40 vols., 12mo, decorated cloth, gilt top, $60.00. Any story or series can be supplied separately.

The complete set, 40 vols., also bound in plain cloth, gilt top, $60.00; half morocco, extra, or half calf, extra, gilt top, $120.00. (Sold only in sets.)

A new and smaller edition of the holiday success, "Elizabethan Songs."

ELIZABETHAN SONGS "IN HONOUR OF LOVE AND BEAUTIE."

Collected and illustrated by EDMUND H. GARRETT. With an introduction by Andrew Lang. Exquisitely printed at the University Press, with black-letter headings, initial letters, etc., and illustrated with 4 vignettes and 7 full-page photogravure plates from water color drawings, 50 headings and tail pieces and an etched title with vignette portrait of Queen Elizabeth. 12mo, cloth, extra, gilt top, $2.00.

This very beautiful volume includes the best of the many lovely songs of the Elizabethan age. A selection of the exquisite illustrations designed for the original edition by Mr. Garrett is included in the present edition. The volume has been printed with the utmost care at the University Press. In its new form and at so moderate a price it will be one of the most attractive holiday books of the present season.

LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY, Publishers,

254 Washington Street, Boston.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHARLES L. WEBSTER & COMPANY'S PUBLICATIONS.

New Books and New Editions.

Alfred Lord Tennyson:

A Study of His Life and Work. By ARTHUR WAUGH, B.A. Oxon. Cloth. Illustrated. 350 pages. $1.50.

We have arranged for the American publication of a new cheap edition of this work at half the former price, well printed, and with all the original illustrations, together with additions and revisions in the text. This standard working biography of the laureate is likely to retain its popularity among lovers of his verse.

Low Tide on Grand Pre:

A Book of Lyrics. By BLISS CARMAN. Neatly bound in cloth. 12mo. 120 pages. $1 00.

The London *Athenæum* has styled Mr. Bliss Carman "the most poetical writer of verse that Canada has produced." It is with great pleasure that we announce the publication of Mr. Carman's first volume of poems.

Legends and Myths of Hawaii.

By the late KING KALAKAUA. Two Steel Portraits and 25 other illustrations. 8vo. 530 pages. Cloth, $3.00.

Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle.

By Mrs. ALEXANDER IRELAND. With Portrait and Facsimile Letter. 8vo. 324 pages. Vellum cloth, gilt top, $1.75.

The Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey.

By the late Hon. S. S. COX. 8vo. 685 pages. Profusely illustrated. Cloth, $3.75; sheep, $4.75.

Essays in Miniature.

By AGNES REPPLIER. Stamped cloth, gilt titles, 75 cts.; half calf, $2.00.

Selected Poems.

By WALT WHITMAN. With Portrait Frontispiece. Stamped cloth, etc. 175 pages. 75 cts.; half calf, $2.00.

Autobiographia:

Or, The Story of a Life. By WALT WHITMAN. With View of Whitman's Home at Camden. Stamped cloth, etc. 206 pages. 75 cts.; half calf, $2.00.

The Speech of Monkeys.

By R. L. GARNER. Small 8vo. With Frontispiece. Cloth, $1.00.

A New Book of Travels.

On Sunny Shores.

By CLINTON SCOLLARD, author of "Under Summer Skies." 12mo. 300 pages. Illustrated. Cloth, $1.00.

Prof. Clinton Scollard will issue this fall a further description of his poetical pilgrimages, entitled "On Sunny Shores." It will be published as a companion volume to his popular "Under Summer Skies," the two works complementing each other. The charm of style and daintiness of touch shown in the former book of travels is more than maintained.

Under Summer Skies.

By CLINTON SCOLLARD. Cloth, octavo, 300 pages. $1.00.

"These records of his wanderings are written in an engaging and unpretentious style: they abound in poetic description of persons and localities, and here and there throughout the volume are delightful lyrics which lend an added grace to the prose."—*The Critic* (New York).

Writings of Christopher Columbus.

With an Introduction by PAUL LEICESTER FORD. Cloth, 75 cts.; half calf, $2.00.

Tenting on the Plains.

By ELIZABETH B. CUSTER, author of "Boots and Saddles." New cheap edition. Illustrated. 12mo. Cloth, $1.00.

Two Books of Travel by Poultney Bigelow.

Paddles and Politics Down the Danube.

By POULTNEY BIGELOW. With illustrations by the author. Stamped cloth, etc. 180 pages. 75 cts.; half calf, $2.00.

The German Emperor and his Eastern Neighbors.

By POULTNEY BIGELOW. With Portrait of William II. Stamped cloth, etc. 180 pages. 75 cts.; half calf, $2.00.

Henry George's Works.

12mo. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cts.

First Uniform Edition.

A PERPLEXED PHILOSOPHER.
PROGRESS AND POVERTY.
SOCIAL PROBLEMS.
PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE.
THE LAND QUESTION.
PROPERTY IN LAND.
THE CONDITION OF LABOR.
} 3 vols. in one.

Catalogue and Price Lists mailed free on application. Our publications are for sale by all booksellers, or are mailed postpaid on receipt of price.

CHARLES L. WEBSTER & COMPANY, 67 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"THE DIAL *is, in my opinion, the best critical journal in this country.*"
—H. H. BOYESEN.

THE DIAL

A SEMI-MONTHLY JOURNAL OF

Literary Criticism, Discussion, and Information.

THE DIAL, now in its *fourteenth year*, has lately, by enlargement of scope so as to include the broader interests of Literature, of Education, and of Higher Culture generally, entered upon a new career of influence and prosperity. It is published on the 1st and 16th of each month. Terms (including postage), $2.00 a year in advance. Single copy, 10 cents.

"The look and bearing of THE DIAL is refinement itself. . . . Seriousness, fearless care, and a right instinct in letters help to make THE DIAL the best review we have."—*The Independent*, New York.

"Accept my congratulations on the steady lightening and enlivening of THE DIAL. It has always been wise, dignified, and scholarly; it has grown brilliant, pungent, and *contemporaneous*."—ALICE FRENCH (Octave Thanet).

"THE DIAL is the best publication of its kind in this country."—*John Burroughs.*

A VERY SPECIAL OFFER.

The publishers of THE DIAL will send their journal for three months (six numbers) to any responsible person (not already a subscriber) who will signify a desire for it and will enclose twelve 2-cent stamps for postage. It is desired that applications should, when agreeable, mention the profession or occupation of the sender; but this is not obligatory, nor is there any obligation whatever beyond a genuine intention to give the journal a fair examination.

From One Who Has Tried.

"I have been delighted with THE DIAL as it has come to me for the few weeks past. Its beautiful make-up is not excelled by any periodical I have seen, either at home or abroad."—JAMES G. FRANCIS, Philadelphia, Pa.

ADDRESS,

THE DIAL, 24 Adams St., Chicago.

Just Ready, in 1 Volume, 668 Pages, Demy 8vo, Cloth, Price $2.50.

DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS

From Ancient and Modern ENGLISH AND FOREIGN SOURCES.

Including Phrases, Mottoes, Maxims, Proverbs, Definitions, Aphorisms, and Sayings of wise men in their bearing on Life, Literature, Speculation, Science, Art, Religion, and Morals, especially in the modern aspects of them. With a subject index. Selected and compiled by the Rev. James Wood, Editor of "Nuttall's Standard Dictionary." 1893.

It admits both Prose and Poetry, and is not confined to one subject or one period. It contains proverbs, quotations, and wise saws culled from all sorts of out-of-the-way sources, old and (particularly) new. The wise sayings of a dozen languages are comprised within its 30,000 references, as well as the crystallized wisdom of the great minds of America, England, France, and Germany. The whole made easily available by the subject index, and a novel method of paging and numbering the quotations.

"The effort has not been to make a collection of 'familiar Quotations,' but rather to mass so large a quantity of pithy and wise sayings that the apt word for any occasion may readily be found. . . . A really valuable addition to the reference library."—*The Outlook*, New York.

"Good quotable matter, which has not been put in a dictionary before."—*The Independent*, New York.

*** *Of all booksellers, or free by mail on receipt of price by the publishers,*

FREDERICK WARNE & CO., 3 Cooper Union, N. Y.

THREE BOOKS.

The PILGRIM in OLD ENGLAND.

BY AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D. The History, Present Condition, and Outlook of the Independent (Congregational) Churches in England. Southworth Lectures for 1892 at Andover Theological Seminary. Crown 8vo, 362 pp., extra cloth, gilt top, $2.00.

Introductory lecture on "Life and Form," view of the organization of the Christian Church, its development and variations through the ages; account of the origin and growth of the Independents in England, and discussion of the great body of Nonconformist Churches there.

The INTERWOVEN GOSPELS and GOSPEL HARMONY.

By Rev. WILLIAM PITTENGER. A complete and continuous narrative in the words of the Gospels; interleaved with pages showing the method of the Harmony. According to the *American Revised Version* of 1881. Full indexes, references, etc. New edition. *Seventh Thousand.* 12mo, cloth, red edges, with five maps, $1.00.

BEECHER'S BIBLE STUDIES.

Readings in the early Books of the Old Testament (*Genesis to Ruth*), with Familiar Comment, given in 1878–79, by HENRY WARD BEECHER. Edited from Stenographic Notes of T. J. ELLINWOOD by JOHN R. HOWARD.

"Directness, simplicity, and comprehensive conception . . . inspiration and strength . . . suggestive and inspiring treatments . . . which the general Bible student will be sure to enjoy."—*The Biblical World.*

FORDS, HOWARD & HULBERT, NEW YORK.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recent and Important Works.

Americans in Europe.

By ONE OF THEM. 12mo, cloth, $1.00.

"The author of 'Americans in Europe' is to be lauded for his patriotism."—*New York Times.*

"This breezy and interesting book has all the candor and independence of an anonymous work, and will be read with pleasure and profit."—*New York World.*

"The author holds the mirror to the life and character of Americans in foreign countries with some startling but salutary disclosures of things that ought not to be. . . . The most entertaining book of the day."—*Boston Globe.*

Told by the Colonel.

By W. L. ALDEN. Illustrated. 12mo, cloth, $1.25.

"The Colonel's repertory is of the funniest, and the most absurd things are given in the gravest manner, and it is the amusing contrast, the jumble of things plausible and impossible, that catches hold of the listeners. No human being ever could work the qualifying adjective as does Mr. Alden."—*New York Times.*

A Chronicle of Small Beer.

By JOHN REID. Illustrated. 12mo, cloth, $1.00.

A most delightful, work treating of Scotch life and character, not to be surpassed by James Matthew Barrie in his "Little Minister."

Tavistock Tales.

By GILBERT PARKER (author of "The Chief Factor," etc.) and others. Illustrated. 12mo, cloth, $1.25.

"The best of taste has been shown in the selection of these stories. . . . We know of few short stories more impressive than Gilbert Parker's 'The March of the White Guard.'"—*New York Times.*

At the Rising of the Moon.

By FRANK MATHEW. Illustrated by Fred Pegram and A. S. Boyd. 12mo, cloth, $1.25.

"'At the Rising of the Moon' is but a little volume, and its stories are brief and not many, but the very heart of Ireland beats in them. One by one the various national types appear; it is a motley company, but every figure abounds in character, and Mr. Mathew, whether by imitation or by grace of similar natural gift, makes each one as effective as Mr. Kipling himself could make it."—*Boston Herald.*

Cosmopolis.

By PAUL BOURGET. Crown 8vo, cloth ornamental, $1.50.

This is a new edition of Paul's Bourget's masterpiece, handsomely illustrated by A. Casarin, a pupil of Meissonier.

ANGLO-AMERICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, 31 Union Square, North, New York.

Meisterschaft • Superseded

BY ITS OWN AUTHOR,

Dr. RICHARD S. ROSENTHAL.

Dr. ROSENTHAL'S name has become a household word wherever foreign languages are studied. He has just issued a new work,

The Rosenthal Method of Practical Linguistry,

which does not only supersede his former system, but will be found superior to any and all methods. It is the mature outcome of 25 years' experience of "the greatest linguist and foremost teacher of the age," enabling any one to learn to

Speak Fluently and Correctly

with scarcely an effort and without a teacher

German, French, or Spanish

within a marvellously short time.

"Next to living in a foreign country this is undoubtedly the best of all methods for learning modern languages."—*The Nation.*

All subscribers become actual pupils of Dr. Rosenthal, who answers all questions and corrects all exercises. Terms of membership, $5.00 for each language. Part I, each language, 50 cents.

POLYGLOT BOOK COMPANY,

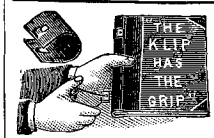
47 Lafayette Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

ADDRESS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE

MEMORY

To introduce a series of valuable educational works the above will be sent to all applicants FREE

JAMES P. DOWNS, PUBLISHER,
Room 80 243 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.



SAVE YOUR PAPERS.

The **Klip** is best binder. Sample doz. 75 cts. Price list free. Used in New York State Library.

ADDRESS:

H. H. BALLARD, 130, Pittsfield, Mass.

LANGUAGES FRENCH, GERMAN SPANISH, ITALIAN

Actually Spoken and Mastered in Ten Weeks without leaving your homes by the Meisterschaft System. 550th Thousand. Pupils taught as if actually in the presence of the teacher. Terms for membership $5.00 for each Language. All questions answered and exercises corrected free of charge. Specimen copy of Part 1, either language, sent free on receipt of 2 cent postage stamp.

MASTERED

THE MEISTERSCHAFT PUBLISHING CO.

No. 196 SUMMER STREET Boston, Mass.

IN 10 WEEKS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

• • • • The catalogue or circular of any school announced in these pages will be mailed to any reader of THE FORUM upon application to the publishers. • • • •

Connecticut, Brookfield Centre.

The Curtis School for Young Boys.

The life here shall be one of which my boys, as men, shall speak with gratitude that they ever shared it. It shall be instructive to them in *all* the principles and habits that govern true relations in life. Development of good character stands first with us. I take no new boy older than thirteen. A little book will tell how we receive them into our home, and take entire charge of their every interest. Nineteenth year. $500 a year. FREDERICK S. CURTIS, Ph.B.

Connecticut, Greenwich.

Academy and Home for 10 Boys.

68th year of Academy, 14th of Home. Preparation for college or business. Absolutely healthy location and genuine home, with refined surroundings. Gymnasium. References required. J. H. ROOT, Principal.

Connecticut, Hartford (in the suburbs).

Woodside Seminary.

For girls. Every advantage for culture, study and health. Terms, $500 to $600. Number limited. *Re-open September 27th, 1893.* Miss SARA J. SMITH, Principal.

Connecticut, New Haven, 56 Hillhouse Avenue.

School for Young Ladies.

West End Institute. Mrs. CADY and Miss CADY, Principals. Prescribed and Elective Courses of Study, or College Preparatory Course. Circulars. Early application necessary.

Connecticut, Norwalk.

Miss Baird's Institute for Girls.

Twentieth year. Primary, Intermediate and College Preparatory Courses. Careful attention to morals and manners. New buildings, steam heat, incandescent light, gymnasium.

Connecticut, Simsbury.

McLean Seminary for Young Ladies.

College Preparatory, Literary and English Courses. French, German, Art, Music. Location attractive, healthful, accessible. Address Rev. J. B. MCLEAN.

District of Columbia, Washington.

Norwood Institute.

English, French, and German Boarding and Day School for Girls. Eleventh Session opened September 28th, 1892. For circulars address

Mr. & Mrs. WM. D. CABELL, Principals.

District of Columbia, Washington,
Corner of M and Eleventh Streets, N. W.

Mount Vernon Seminary for Young Ladies.

English, French, and German Boarding and Day School.

Mrs. ELIZABETH J. SOMERS, Principal.

Illinois, Chicago, 479-481 Dearborn Avenue.

Girls' Collegiate School.

Seventeenth year. Prepares for college and gives special courses of study. For Young Ladies and Children.

Miss R. S. RICE, A.M.
Miss M. E. BEEDY, A.M. } Principals.

Illinois, Chicago, 3715 Langley Avenue.

The Chicago Preparatory School

fits for the best Colleges. Day and Boarding Pupils. Primary and Kindergarten Departments.

Rev. JOHN H. PARR, Principal.

Illinois, Upper Alton.

Western Military Academy.

15th year. An old and thorough preparatory school, with graduates in Yale, Cornell, Princeton, and other colleges. Cadets prepared for college or for business. Circulars sent on application.

Illinois, Woodstock.

Todd Seminary.

A delightful home school for 25 boys. 45th year. Healthful location, strict discipline, thorough instruction, loving care. A department of manual training. Terms moderate. Address NOBLE HILL, Principal.

Indiana, Indianapolis.

Girls' Classical School.

Prepares for Harvard Annex and all colleges admitting women. Large Gymnasium, with competent director. Boarding department. Eleventh year. Catalogues sent.

THEODORE L. SEWALL, MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

Kentucky, Shelbyville.

Science Hill,

an English and Classical School for Girls. Oldest in the South. First-class in all its appointments. Prepares for Wellesley. W. T. POYNTER.

Maryland, Baltimore, 706 St. Paul Street.

Mount Vernon Institute.

English, French, and German School for Girls. Reopens September 27th. Boarding pupils limited to twenty. Students prepared for College.

Mrs. JULIA R. TUTWILER, Principal.

Maryland, Baltimore, 1214 Eutaw Place.

The Sarah Randolph School for Girls.

Founded by Miss S. N. Randolph of Virginia. Near Druid Hill Park. Mrs. A. L. ARMSTRONG, Principal.

Maryland, Lutherville.

$225 per Year at Lutherville Seminary

(near Baltimore) for Young Ladies. 41st year. Modern conveniences, large campus, full faculty, thorough training, home comforts. Non-sectarian. Send for catalogue.

Rev. J. H. TURNER, A.M., Principal.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Massachusetts, Amherst.

Home School for Special Training of Nervous and Backward Children and Youths.
Mrs. W. D. HERRICK.

Massachusetts, Barre.

The Private Institution for Feeble-minded Youth offers to parents and guardians superior facilities for education and improvement, with the comforts of an elegant country home. GEO. A. BROWN, M.D., Superintendent.

Massachusetts, Billerica.

Mitchell's Boys' School.
18 miles from Boston, B. & L. R.R. A strictly select family school. Limited to 40. Admits boys aged 7 to 15 inclusive. $500 per year. Special care and training to young boys. Fits for College, School of Technology, and business. Send for circular to M. C. MITCHELL, Principal.

Massachusetts, Boston, 64 Commonwealth Ave.

Miss Catharine J. Chamberlayne's School for Girls. The next year will open October 4th, 1893. Circulars on application.

Massachusetts, Concord.

Concord Home School.
Twenty-five boys prepared for College, Scientific School or business. All the advantages of family life combined with best mental and physical training. Buildings new and according to latest models. 75 acres of ground.
JAMES S. GARLAND, Principal.

Massachusetts, Duxbury.

Powder Point School
prepares for Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard College or Business. Ample grounds on Plymouth Bay; 22 boys; laboratories; individual teaching. The boys are members of the family. Elementary classes for young boys.
FREDERICK B. KNAPP, S.B. (M. I. T.).

Massachusetts, Easthampton.

Williston Seminary
prepares boys for any college or scientific school. New laboratories and bathrooms. All buildings heated by steam.
Address Rev. WM. GALLAGHER, Principal.

Massachusetts, Everett (a suburb of Boston).

Mrs. Potter's School for Young Ladies.
Nineteenth year. Pupils received at any time. Pleasant and healthful location. College preparatory and special studies.

Massachusetts, Greenfield.

Prospect Hill School for Girls.
24th year. Prepares for college; also Science, Art, Music.
JAMES C. PARSONS, Principal.

Massachusetts, Berkshire Co., Great Barrington.

Sedgwick Institute.
A select and limited home school for young men and boys. Prepares for college or business. Pupils are members of the Principal's family, and receive constant personal care and attention. Address E. J. VANLENNEP, Principal.

Massachusetts, South Hadley.

Mount Holyoke College
offers three Collegiate courses. Music and Art. Library, Laboratories, Cabinets, and Observatory. The fifty-seventh year opens Sept. 14th, 1893. Board and tuition, $250.
Mrs. E. S. MEAD, President.

Massachusetts, Springfield.

"The Elms," Home and Day School for Girls.
Certificate admits to Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith. Quincy Method for children. Miss PORTER, Principal.

Massachusetts, Worcester.

Mrs. Throop's School for Young Ladies and Children. Thorough instruction combined with best home care and influences. College preparatory or special courses. Pupils received for summer study.

Michigan, Ann Arbor.

School of Chemistry, University of Michigan.
The register of Alumni, showing what each graduate is now doing, sent on request. Address at Ann Arbor, Mich.

Michigan, Kalamazoo.

Michigan Female Seminary.
A Refined Home and Superior School. Number of students limited. Fall term opens Sept. 14th, 1893. For information address the principal, LOUISE B. SAMPSON.

Michigan, Orchard Lake.

Michigan Military Academy.
The West Point of the West. Seventeenth year. Beautiful location and healthful climate. No school in the country offers better advantages. Send for illustrated catalogue.
Colonel J. SUMNER ROGERS, Superintendent.

Minnesota, Duluth.

The Hardy School,
a College Preparatory School for girls, re-opens Sept. 12th, 1893. Certificate admits to Smith, Wellesley, and other Eastern Colleges. Native teachers in French and German. Special departments in art and music. A handsome new building with ample grounds. For circulars or information concerning the school, apply to
KATE B. HARDY, ANNA R. HAIRE, Principals.

Minnesota, Faribault.

Shattuck School.
Military Department, College or Business.
Rev. JAMES DOBBIN, D.D., Rector.

St. Mary's Hall.
For Girls. Bishop WHIPPLE, Rector.
Two of the best-equipped and most successful schools: each with excellent faculty of specialists. Very invigorating, healthy climate. Great care in selecting pupils. Illustrated catalogues have very full information.

Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Stanley Hall.
A boarding and day school for girls. 14 instructors, 9 resident. 117 students. Full courses in Music, Art, and Languages. Two years beyond College Preparatory Courses. Offers scholarship (value $400) to Bryn Mawr College. For catalogue address Miss OLIVE ADÉLE EVERS, Principal.

New Jersey, Bordentown.

Bordentown Military Institute.
Between New York and Philadelphia. Solid foundations in English Academic studies. Prepares for college, scientific schools, and business. Music. U. S. drill regulations.
Capt. T. D. LANDON, Com'd't.
Rev. T. H. LANDON, A.M., Principal.

New Jersey, Bridgeton.

Seven Gables School for Young Ladies and Girls.
Native French and German teachers. Gymnasium. Certificate admits to Smith's College. Climate mild and dry.
Mrs. SARAH A. WESTCOTT, Principal.

New Jersey, Bridgeton.

South Jersey Institute.
24th year begins Sept. 13th. Both sexes. Prepares for any College, Teaching or Business. French, German, Art, Music, Military Drill, Gymnasium. H. K. TRASK, Principal.

New Jersey, Burlington.

St. Mary's Hall.
Founded 1837. For all particulars address
Miss CHARLOTTE TITCOMB, Principal.

New Jersey, Freehold.

Boys' Boarding School.
Primary and College Preparatory Department. Business course with Shorthand, Typewriting, Telegraphy.
A. A. CHAMBERS, A.M.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS

New Jersey, Freehold.

The Young Ladies' Seminary

takes 25 boarding pupils and cares for them individually. Admits by certificate to Vassar, Smith, Wellesley, and The Woman's College of Baltimore.

Miss EUNICE D. SEWALL, Principal.

New Jersey, Hackettstown.

Hackettstown Institute.

High grade College. Preparatory for gentlemen. Ladies' College. Best building of its class. Music, Art, Elocution, Laboratory. Two gymnasiums. Location unsurpassed. Terms moderate. Catalogue free.

Rev. GEO. H. WHITNEY, D.D., President.

New Jersey, Lakewood.

Lakewood Heights School.

Among the pines. A thorough and attractive school for boys. Re-opens September 28th. JAMES W. MOREY, Principal.

New Jersey, Montclair, 60 Plymouth Street.

The Hitchcock-Marsh Boarding and Day School

for Girls. Opens September 27th.

New Jersey, Montclair. 13 miles from New York.

Montclair Military Academy.

Summit of Orange Mountains. Graduates admitted to leading Colleges without examinations. Large gymnasium, with special instructor. Cadets live in cottages.

J. G. MACVICAR, A.M., Principal.

New Jersey, Plainfield.

Harned Academy.

Boarding school for 20 boys. Prepares for college or business. Pleasant home, thorough instruction. Each pupil governed according to his disposition. $300 per year.

E. N. HARNED, Principal.

New Jersey, Trenton.

Dupuy School for Boys.

A school for backward boys only. Only four boarding pupils. For circulars address E. D. MONTANYE, Master.

New York, Aurora, Cayuga Lake.

Wells College for Women.

Three Collegiate courses of Study. Instrumental and Vocal Music, Drawing, Painting, etc. Location beautiful and healthful. Elegant new building with modern improvements. Session begins September 20th, 1893. Send for catalogue.

E. S. FRISBEE, D.D., President.

New York, Brooklyn.

Miss Katherine L. Maltby, B.A.,

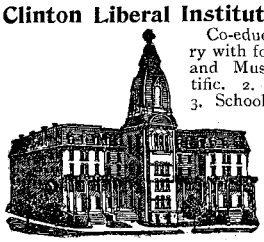
will open her spacious and inviting residence, 160 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, September 28th, 1893, for the reception of Young Ladies who desire to spend the winter in the city in the enjoyment of its Art or Musical advantages; for students who will attend the sessions of day schools in Brooklyn; or for pupils who wish special instruction under her charge.

Fifth year. Address for circular

160 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn.

New York, Fort Plain.

Clinton Liberal Institute.



Co-educational. Comprises: 1. Seminary with four courses: Collegiate, Literary and Musical, Civil Engineering, Scientific. 2. Fitting School for any College. 3. School of Fine Arts, Music (Piano, Organ, Violin, Voice, under superior foreign teachers), Elocution, Art. 4. Porter School of Business Training. 5. Military Academy. Officer detailed by U. S. Government. Limited to 150 Cadets. Armory 150 x 80. All departments open to Cadets. Main Building as complete as a fine hotel in furnishings; elevator, steam, gas. Campus 9½ acres. Gymnasium. Overlooking the Mohawk Valley. English Preparatory Department.

New York, Brooklyn, 138-140 Montague St.

The Brooklyn Heights Seminary.

Boarding and Day School for Girls. The 43d year opens September 28th, 1893. Address for circulars as above.

New York, Claverack.

The Claverack College and Hudson River

Institute for Young Men and Women will open its 40th year Sept. 18th, 1893. For Catalogues address

Rev. A. H. FLACK, A.M., Pres't, Claverack, N. Y.

New York, Hamilton.

Colgate Academy.

20th year opens September 14th. New gymnasium. Additional instructors. Thorough preparation for Colleges or Professional Schools. Healthful and beautiful location. Special circular ready August 1st.

CHARLES HERBERT THURBER, A.M., Principal.

New York, Havana.

Cook Academy.

For both sexes. Classical, Scientific, and Literary Courses. Music and Art.

A. C. HILL, Ph.D.

New York, Kingston-on-Hudson.

Golden Hill School for Boys.

Classical, Scientific, and English Courses.

JOHN M. CROSS, A.M., Principal.

New York, New York.

Miss Chisholm's School for Girls.

15 East 65th Street.

New York, New York.

The Misses Ely's School for Girls.

Reopened October 3d. Riverside Drive, 85th and 86th Sts. Unusual facilities for elementary work are offered by the equipment of the building 338 West 86th Street, adjoining the school grounds, devoted to primary classes of little boys and girls.

New York, New York, 9 West 39th Street.

The Brackett School for Girls.

Miss ANNA C. BRACKETT, Miss ELLEN E. LEARNED, Principals. Office hours, 11 to 11:45

New York, New York, 30 West 27th Street.

Academy of Languages.

English, German, French, Italian and Spanish taught by eminent native professors; also Piano and Vocal Music. Send for circular.

Garden City, Long Island, N. Y.

St. Paul's School.

A Military Boarding School. Thorough preparation for College; beautiful and healthful location, 18 miles from New York. Buildings fire-proof with the best sanitary equipments. Apply to

FREDERICK L. GAMAGE, Head Master.

Capt. EDGAR C. BOWEN, U. S. A. Commandant.

New York, Niagara Falls.

De Veaux.

A thorough and progressive school under the Military system. Well equipped. Well endowed. Excellent sanitation. Extensive and beautiful grounds. Seven resident instructors. Only desirable boys are taken. REGINALD HEBER COE, Prin.

New York, North Granville.

North Granville Seminary.

Both sexes. Everything directed to health, comfort, morals and instruction. Beautiful region. $50,000 building, large rooms, steam heat. Chartered; gives Regents' examinations and diplomas. 87th year. Send stamp for circular.

New York, Peekskill.

Roswell Home School

for Young Boys. Kindness and thorough training in home and school. Number limited to twelve. Terms $460 a year.

EMMA W. CHAMBERLAIN, Principal.

For other College and School Announcements see page 33

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• • • • Every Lawyer whose name is in the following list has been recommended as a member of the bar in good standing and worthy of confidence. • • • •

Alabama.

ANNISTON. Jos. Carthel.
" J. J. Willett.
ATTALA. S. W. Johnston.
BIRMINGHAM. Brown & Brown, 223 21st St.
BLOCTON. Luther M. Clements.
DECATUR. John C. Eyster.
EUFAULA. W. C. Swanson.
FLORENCE. Nathan Parkins.
FORT PAYNE. M. W. Howard.
GUNTERSVILLE. Brown (J. E.) & Street (O.D.).
JASPER. Appling & Lamar.
OZARK. Roberts & Martin.
SHEFFIELD. Roulhac & Nathan.
TUSCALOOSA. Hargrove & Vande Graff.
WETUMPKA. H. L. Williams.

Arizona Territory.

FLAGSTAFF. H. O. Ross.
" Harry Z. Zuck.
PHŒNIX. Charles F. Ainsworth.
TUCSON. Barnes & Martin.
WILLCOX. G. W. Baker.

Arkansas.

DEVALL'S BLUFF. J. M. McClintock.
EUREKA SPRINGS. A. Davis.
HARRISON. De Roos Bailey.
LAKE VILLAGE. John C. Connerly.
LITTLE ROCK. Atkinson & England.
LONOKE. J. E. Gatewood.
NEWPORT. Jno. W. & Jos. M. Stayton.
PRESCOTT. Tompkins & Greeson.
RICHMOND. L. J. Joyner.

California.

COLUSA. John T. Harrington.
FRESNO CITY. George E. Church.
HEALDSBURG. E. M. Norton (City Att'y).
LOS ANGELES. H. C. Dillon, Phillips Block.
REDWOOD CITY. Geo. C. Ross.
RIVERSIDE. W. J. McIntyre (City Attorney).
SAN BERNARDINO. Harris & Gregg.
SAN DIEGO. Wm. H. Fuller (City Att'y).
SAN FRANCISCO.
W. R. Daingerfield, 508 California St.
John B. Harmon, Mills Bldg.
Jas. A. Waymire, 76 and 78 Chronicle Bldg.
UKIAH. S. C. Poage.
VENTURA. W. E. Shepherd.

Colorado.

ASPEN. W. W. Cooley.
BRECKENRIDGE. A. Barton Hough.
BUENA VISTA. C. S. Libby.
COLORADO SPRINGS. Henry M. Blackmer.
CORTEZ. Chauncey W. Blackmer.
CREEDE. Albert L. Moses.
DENVER. F. C. Goudy, P. O. Box 1544.
George S. Redd, 519 Equitable Bldg.
DURANGO. Charles A. Johnson.
" J. L. Russell.
FAIRPLAY. M. S. Bailey.
FORT COLLINS. Frank J. Annis.
GLENWOOD SPRINGS. Edward T. Taylor.
GRAND JUNCTION. W. S. Wallace.
MONTE VISTA. C. M. Corlett.
MONTROSE. S. S. Sherman.
TELLURIDE. W. H. Gabbert.
TRINIDAD. John A. Gordon.

Connecticut.

BIRMINGHAM. Daniel E. McMahon.
BRISTOL. John J. Jennings.
CLINTONVILLE. D. L. Clinton.
DANBURY. E. C. Dempsey.
GREENWICH. Heusted W. R. Hoyt.
HARTFORD.
Chamberlin, White & Mills, 333 Main St.
Hyde & Joslyn, 11 Central Row.
Lewis Sperry.
LITCHFIELD. Elbert P. Roberts.
MANCHESTER. Olin R. Wood.
MIDDLETOWN. D. J. Donahue.
NEW BRITAIN. Philip J. Markley.
NEW HAVEN.
Samuel A. York, 157 Church St.
NEW LONDON. Tracy Waller.
NORWALK. J. Belden Hurlbutt.
NORWICH. Wait & Greene.
SALISBURY. Donald T. Warner.
SOUTHINGTON. M. H. Holcomb.
SOUTH MANCHESTER. Chas. R. Hathaway.
SOUTH NORWALK. John H. Light.
STAMFORD. Julius B. Curtis, 97 Maine St.
" James H. Olmstead.
WALLINGFORD. Leverett M. Hubbard.
WILLIMANTIC. Geo. W. Melony.
WINDSOR LOCKS. J. Warren Johnson.

Delaware.

SEAFORD. E. L. Martin.

District of Columbia.

WASHINGTON.
Calderon Carlisle, Fendall Law Bldg.
James L. Pugh, 612 F St. N. W.

Florida.

BARTOW. J. W. Brady.
GREEN COVE SPRINGS. P. C. Fisher.
KISSIMMEE. E. D. Beggs.
LEESBURG. J. B. Gaines.
OCALA. Sam'l F. Marshall.
ORLANDO. William H. Jewell.
PALATKA. R. W. & W. M. Davis.
PENSACOLA. Blount & Blount.
SYLVAN LAKE. Thomas E. Wilson.
TALLAHASSEE. R. W. Williams.
TAMPA. Sparkman & Sparkman.

Georgia.

AMERICUS. J. E. D. Shipp.
ATLANTA. N. J. Hammond.
" Garrett & Neufville.
AUGUSTA. Leonard Phinizy, 13 Law Range.
BRUNSWICK. Sam C. Atkinson.
CAMILLA. Spence & Twitty.
COLUMBUS. McNeill & Levy.
" Thornton & McMichael.
EASTMAN. De Lacy & Bishop.
FORT VALLEY. W. H. Harris.
LA GRANGE. J. H. Pitman.
MACON. Thomas B. West.
" H. F. Strohecker.
" W. B. Willingham.
MARIETTA. Clay & Blair.
MONROE. B. S. Walker.
ROME. J. W. Ewing.
TALLAPOOSA. A. I. Head.
THOMASVILLE. MacIntyre & MacIntyre.
TOCCOA. Louis Davis.
VALDOSTA. D. C. Ashley.
WASHINGTON. W. M. & M. P. Reese.
WAYCROSS. John C. McDonald.

Idaho.

BOISE CITY. J. Brumback.
" Richard Z. Johnson.
CALDWELL. Morrison & Rice.
HAILEY. S. C. Kingsbury.
LEWISTON. Jas. W. Reid.
MALAD CITY. Stone & Evans.
MONTPELIER. E. E. Chalmers.

Illinois.

ALEDO. James M. Brock.
ARCOLA. D. W. Hamilton.
BELLEVILLE. James M. Dill.
CHICAGO. Robert R. Baldwin, 92 Dearborn St.
Browne, Ayers & Ayers, 616 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
Jos. H. Defrees, 903 Owings Bldg.
Edward S. Elliott, Home Insurance Bldg.
Lothrop S. Hodges, 59 Portland Blk.
Johnson, Herring & Brooke, 184 Dearborn St.
Thornton & Chancellor, 143 and 145 La Salle St.
William Vocke, 522 Opera House Bldg.
Weaver & Haines, 1205 Ashland Block,
Silas S. Willard, 80 Dearborn St,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DANVILLE. E. R. E. Kimbrough.
" Penwell & Lindley.
DELAVAN. Henry P. Jones.
EFFINGHAM. Henry B. Kepley.
EVANSTON. F. R. Grover.
FARMER CITY. George W. Herrick.
GALESBURG. T. L. McGirr.
GENESEO. Dunham & Foster.
HILLSB. William A. Howett.
JOLIET. B. Benjamin Olin.
KANKAKEE. E. E. Day.
LA SALLE. O'Conor, Duncan & Eckels.
MATTOON. Emery Andrews.
MCLEANSBORO. J. Wilson Jones.
MT. CARROLL. C. L. Hostetter.
NAUVOO. Geo. Alex. Ritter.
PEORIA. H. W. Wells.
PINCKNEYVILLE. W. K. Murphy.
PITTSFIELD. Doocy & Bush.
PLANO. E. W. Faxon.
QUINCY. Carter, Govert & Pape.
ROCKFORD. R. K. Welsh.
SPARTA. Thos. F. Alexander.
SPRINGFIELD. E. L. Chapin.
VIENNA. P. T. Chapman.
" W. Y. Smith.

Indiana.

ALBION (*Noble Co.*). H. G. Zimmerman, Box 38.
ATTICA. Will B. Reed.
BLUFFTON. John O'Brien.
BOONVILLE. Handy & Armstrong.
COLUMBIA CITY. Thos. R. Marshall.
ELKHART. Perry L. Turner.
FT. WAYNE. Jas. M. Barrett.
FRANKFORT. Joseph C. Suit.
GREENFIELD. Marsh & Cook.
HAMMOND. A. F. Knotts.
HUNTINGTON. C. W. Watkins.
INDIANAPOLIS.
Chas. E. Barrett, 84 E. Market St.
KOKOMO. Jas. O'Brien.
LA FAYETTE. Coffroth & Coffroth.
" Geo. J. Eacock.
LEAVENWORTH. John H. Weathers.
LEBANON. Chas. M. Zion.
MONTICELLO. Truman F. Palmer.
MUNCIE. Jas. N. Templer & Son.
PLYMOUTH. R. B. Oglesbee.
PRINCETON. C. A. Buskerk.
RENSSELAER. Mordecai F. Chilcote.
RICHMOND. R. A. Jackson.
SOUTH BEND. O. M. Cunningham (City Att'y).
TERRE HAUTE. S. B. Davis.
VALPARAISO. A. D. Bartholomew.
WASHINGTON. C. K. Thorp.
WINAMAC. Nye & Nye.
WINCHESTER. Watson & Watson.

Indian Territory.

MUSCOGEE. Shepard & Shepard.
" John Watkins.
SOUTH MCALESTER. Lester & Arnote.
VINITA. W. H. Kornegay.

Iowa.

AMES. George A. Underwood.
ATLANTIC. Willard & Willard.
AUDUBON. A. F. Armstrong.
BURLINGTON. Smyth, Rumple & Lake.
CARROLL. M. W. Beach.
CEDAR RAPIDS. Cooper & Crissman.
CORNING. Horace M. Towner.
CORYDON. H. K. Evans.
" Hart & Poston.
COUNCIL BLUFFS. Wright & Baldwin.
CRESCO. John McCook.
CRESTON. James G. Bull.
DAVENPORT. Ira R. Tabor.
DES MOINES. Hume & Dawson.
DUBUQUE. Wm. Graham.
DUNLAP. Charles Mackenzie.
FORT DODGE. James Martin.
" Yeoman & Kenyon.
GRINNELL. Haines & Lyman.
HUMBOLDT. G. H. Shellenberger.
INDEPENDENCE. Lake & Harmon.
JEFFERSON. J. A. Henderson.
KINGSLEY. J. A. Dewey.
MAQUOKETA. S. D. Lyman.
MONTEZUMA. J. W. Carr.
MOUNT PLEASANT. C. M. Jerrel.
ORANGE CITY. L. Van Olst.
OSAGE. Eaton & Clyde.
OTO. F. H. Cutting.
OTTUMWA. McElroy & Roberts.
PAULLINA. H. H. Crow.
ROCK RAPIDS. Roach & Ramsey.
ROCKWELL CITY. M. W. Frick.
SAC CITY. W. H. Hart.
SIOUX CITY. Edwin J. Stason.
WATERLOO. C. W. Mullan.
WEBSTER CITY. Wesley Martin.
WEST LIBERTY. E. C. Nichols.

Kansas.

ABILENE. John H. Mahan.
ALMA. J. F. Peffer.
ANTHONY. J. P. Grove.
ARKANSAS CITY. Wm. Theophilus.
ATCHISON. Henry Elliston, 409 Commercial St.
W. W. & W. F. Guthrie.
CHANUTE. J. B. F. Cates.
CHEROKEE. Edwin A. Perry.
CLAY CENTER. C. C. Coleman.
COUNCIL GROVE. Geo. P. Morehouse (City Att'y).
DIGHTON. C. E. Lobdell.
DODGE CITY. Whitelaw & Moffett.
EMPORIA. J. G. Hutchinson.
" Thos. N. Sedgwick.
EUREKA. Thomas L. Davis.
FT. SCOTT. D. F. Campbell, P.O. Box 142.
GALENA. Wm. F. Sapp.
GARDEN CITY. Milton Brown.
GOODLAND. Hoyt Andrews.
HAYS CITY. A. D. Gilkeson.
HUTCHINSON. John W. Roberts.
JEWETT CITY. J. C. Postlethwaite.
JOHNSON CITY. A. B. Reeves.
JUNCTION CITY. John O. Marshall.
KINGMAN. Gillett Bros. & Co.
LA CROSSE. Andrews & Anderson.
LAWRENCE. A. G. Hager.
LEAVENWORTH. C. F. W. Dassler.
" William C. Hook.
NEWTON. Ady, Peters & Nicholson.
OSKALOOSA. Marshall Gephart.
OSWEGO. F. H. Atchinson.
PHILLIPSBURG. R. Frank Stinson.
ST. JOHN. Rose & Rose.
SENECA. Wells & Wells.
TOPEKA.
Douthitt, Jones & Mason, Bank of Topeka Bldg.
Whitcomb & Whitcomb.
WINFIELD. Ed. L. Peckham.

Kentucky.

AUGUSTA. George Doniphan.
BOONEVILLE. James M. Sebastian.
BOWLING GREEN. W. W. Mansfield.
COVINGTON. Chas. H. Fisk.
DIXON. F. M. Baker.
FLEMINGSBURG. W. G. Dearing.
FRANKLIN. Leander G. Pope.
FULTON. J. C. Flournoy.
GEORGETOWN. H. P. Montgomery.
HAWESVILLE. Edward E. Kelly.
HOPKINSVILLE. Wood & Bell.
LOUISVILLE.
Geo. B. Eastin, 33 & 34 Bull Block.
Chas. S. Grubbs, 216 Fifth St.
Isaac T. Woodson.
MORGANFIELD. Allen & Hughes.
PARIS. Geo. C. Lockhart.
SHELBYVILLE. L. C. Willis.
WICKLIFFE. Z. W. Bugg & Son.

Louisiana.

BELLEVUE. J. A. Snider.
CLINTON. W. F. Kernan.
FRANKLIN. Philip H. Mentz.
HOUMA. L. F. Suthon.
NEW ORLEANS.
Bayne, Denegre & Bayne, 33 and 35 Carondelet St.
Harry H. Hall, 173 Common St.
OPELOUSAS. Estilette & Dupre.
ST. BERNARD. Albert Estopinal, Jr.
SHREVEPORT. Montfort S. Jones (City Att'y).
THIBODAUX. Clay Knobloch & Son.

Maine.

BANGOR. Henry L. Mitchell.
MADISON. C. O. Small.
MONSON. J. F. Sprague.
PORTLAND. Locke & Locke.
SO. NORRIDGEWOCK. Chas. A. Harrington.

Maryland.

ANNAPOLIS. Frank H. Stockett, Jr.
BALTIMORE.
Thos. S. Hodson, 6 Lexington St., E
Henry Stockbridge & Son, 313 St. Paul St.
BEL AIR. Stevenson A. Williams.
" John S. Young.
CAMBRIDGE. John R. Pattison.
CHESTERTOWN. James Alfred Pearce.
CUMBERLAND. R. R. Henderson.
EASTON. Gibson & Carrington.
HAGERSTOWN. J. A. Mason.
HAVRE DE GRACE. P. L. Hopper.
SALISBURY. Thomas Humphreys.
TOWSON. James J. Lindsay.
UPPER MARLBORO. Richard E. Brandt.

Massachusetts.

AMESBURY. Jacob T. Choate.
ATHOL. George W. Horr.
AYER. George J. Burns.
BOSTON.
John H. Casey (Notary Public), 32 New Court-House.
Walter Church, 1 Beacon St.
E. M. Johnson, 113 Devonshire St.
Louis C. Southard, 27 School St.
GLOUCESTER. Charles A. Russell.
HOLYOKE. A. L. Green.
LAWRENCE.
Chas. A. De Courcy & Walter Coulson.
LOWELL. John J. Pickman.
MARLBOROUGH. James W. McDonald.
ORANGE. Edward Bicknell.
SOUTHBRIDGE. J. C. F. Wheelock.
SOUTH FRAMINGHAM. John M. Merriam.
SPRINGFIELD. Edward A. Baker, 455 Main St.
" Timothy M. Brown.
TAUNTON. Frank P. Lincoln.
WESTBOROUGH. Joshua E. Beeman.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Michigan.

ADRIAN. Norman Geddes.
CLARE. John Giberson.
COLDWATER. Chas. N. Legg.
EATON RAPIDS. John M. Corbin.
ESCANABA. George Gallup (City Att'y).
" John Power.
EVART. Chas. F. Stout.
FENNVILLE. Theo. Wade.
FREMONT. L. A. Miller.
GAYLORD. A. A. Crane.
GLADSTONE. Chas. E. Mason.
GRAND RAPIDS.
Butterfield & Keeney.
C. H. Gleason, 53 Pearl St.
LAKE CITY. F. O. Gaffney.
LANSING. E. C. Chapin.
" S. L. Kilbourne.
LUDINGTON. C. G. Wing.
MT. PLEASANT. Russell & Sheldon.
MANISTEE. Geo. S. Hilliker.
MARQUETTE. George P. Brown.
MUSKEGON. H. L. Delano.
OWOSSO. W. M. Kilpatrick.
OXFORD. Geo. O. Kinsman.
PAW PAW. Geo. E. Breck.
PETOSKEY. C. J. Pailthorp.
TECUMSEH. Charles Burridge.
TRAVERSE CITY. Covell & Gilbert.

Minnesota.

ADA. W. W. Calkins.
ADRIAN. Norman Geddes.
ANOKA. E. Hammons.
BENSON. Sanford H. Hudson.
CLOQUET. Alpheus Woodward.
CROOKSTON. Miller & Foote.
DULUTH.
R. R. Briggs, 501-3 Chamber of Commerce.
Wilson & Wray, 321 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
GRANITE FALLS. L. H. Schellbach.
LITTLE FALLS. C. A. Lindbergh.
MINNEAPOLIS.
Babcock & Garrigues, 309 Kasota Bl'k.
C. L. Lamb, 1010 N. Y. Life Building.
Levi L. Longbrake, 417 Boston Block.
MONTEVIDEO. J. O. Haugland.
MONTICELLO. James C. Tarbox.
MOORHEAD. W. B. Douglas.
PERHAM. M. J. Daly.
PRESTON. H. R. Wells.
REDWOOD FALLS. M. M. Madigan.
ST. CLOUD. D. W. Bruckart.
ST. PAUL.
Ewing & Ewing, 610 Manhattan Bldg.
WADENA. Frank Willson.
WARREN. A. Grindeland.
WEST DULUTH. D. M. Devore.
WILLMAR. J. F. Hilscher.
WINONA. Berry & Morey.

Mississippi.

ABERDEEN. George C. Paine.
BROOKHAVEN. R. H. Thompson.
CANTON. W. H. Powell.
FRIAR'S POINT. D. A. Scott.
GREENWOOD. Jas. K. Vardaman.
GRENADA. R. Horton.
HAZLEHURST. George S. Dodds.
" J. S. Sexton.
INDIANOLA. Thos. R. Baird.
JACKSON. E. E. Baldwin.
MACON. Thomas J. O'Neill.
MERIDIAN. Cochran & Bozeman.
OXFORD. W. A. Roane.
PORT GIBSON. E. S. & J. T. Drake.
RAYMOND. J. K. McNeely.
ROSEDALE. Chas. Scott.
SARDIS. J. B. Boothe.
TUPELO. Clarke & Clarke.
VAIDEN. Monroe McClurg.
WINONA. Somerville & McLean.
YAZOO CITY. A. M. Harlow.

Missouri.

ALBANY. C. S. Lockwood.
APPLETON CITY. W. W. Chapel.
BISMARCK. D. L. Rivers.
BOWLING GREEN. E. W. Major.
CAMERON. Thos. E. Turney.
DONIPHAN. J. C. Sheppard.
FARMINGTON. Martin L. Clardy.
FREDERICKTOWN. B. B. Cahoon.
JACKSON. Linus Sanford.
KAHOKA. C. T. Llewellyn.
KANSAS CITY.
Brown, Chapman & Brown, Heist Bldg.
Frank Titus, 509 N. Y. Life Ins. Bldg.
KIRKSVILLE. H. F. Millan.
LAMAR. H. C. Timmonds.
MACON. Wm. P. Beach.
MARYVILLE. Ira K. Alderman.
PARIS. Temple B. Robinson.
PLATTE CITY. A. D. Burnes.
POPLAR BLUFF. J. Perry Johnson.
ROCKPORT. Malcolm McKillop.
ROLLA. Corse & Baker.
ST. JOSEPH. O. E. Rumer.
ST. LOUIS.
Chas. Claflin Allen, 417 Pine Street.
Douglas & Scudder, 417 Olive St.
Everett W. Pattison, Odd Fellows Bldg.
J. K. Skinker, 417 Olive St.
Seneca N. Taylor, B'way & Locust St.
SEDALIA. Bothwell & Jaynes.
SPRINGFIELD. M. C. Smith, Lock Box 68.
TARKIO. C. R. Barrow.
WEST PLAINS. James Orchard.

Montana.

CASTLE. L. Peavy.
COLUMBIA FALLS. Arthur Y. Lindsey.
DILLON. Henri J. Burleigh.
GREAT FALLS. H. P. Rolfe.
HELENA. M. Bullard.
KALISPELL. Sanford & Grubb.
MILES CITY. C. R. Middleton.
MISSOULA. Thos. C. Marshall.
" Woody, Webster & Wood.
WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS. Max Waterman.

Nebraska.

ALMA. C. C. Flansburg.
ARAPAHOE. John H. Mooney.
AURORA. John A. Whitmore.
BEATRICE. E. O. Kretsinger.
BLOOMFIELD. J. B. Lucas.
CHADRON. Spargur & Fisher.
CRETE. James W. Dawes.
" Fayette I. Foss.
CREIGHTON. J. H. Berryman.
CULBERTSON. L. H. Blackledge.
FAIRMONT. John Barsby.
FREMONT. Frick, Dolezal & Stinson.
GREELEY CENTER. T. J. Doyle.
HARVARD. Thomas H. Matters.
HEBRON. C. L. Richards.
KENESAW. S. H. Smith.
LINCOLN. Abbott, Selleck & Lane, Burr's Block.
MADRID. J. M. Hutchins.
NELIGH. N. D. Jackson.
NORFOLK. H. D. Kelly.
" Mapes & Licey.
NORTH PLATTE. R. F. Forrest.
OMAHA. W. A. DeBord, New York Life Building.
Montgomery Charlton & Hall, New York Life Bldg.
O'NEILL. H. M. Uttley.
PLATTSMOUTH. A. N. Sullivan.
RUSHVILLE. W. H. Westover.
SUPERIOR. W. F. Buck.
SUTTON. E. E. Hairgrove.
TEKAMAH. Chas. T. Dickinson.
WAHOO. L. E. Gruver.
WEEPING WATER. J. H. Haldemann.
WEST POINT. Uriah Bruner.
WILBER. S. S. Alley.
YORK. Merton Meeker.

Nevada.

VIRGINIA CITY. W. E. F. Deal.

New Hampshire.

FRANKLIN. James E. Barnard.
WARNER. A. P. Davis.

New Jersey.

ASBURY PARK. R. T. & W. B. Stout.
CAMDEN.
Herbert A. Drake, 127 Market St.
Thomas E. French, 106 Market St.
CAPE MAY. Herbert W. Edmunds.
ELIZABETH. Frank Bergen, 68 Broad St.
FREEHOLD. Frank P. McDermott.
HIGHTSTOWN. Samuel Mount Schanck.
JERSEY CITY. John C. Inwright, 76 Montgomery St.
MILLVILLE. H. O. Newcomb.
MONTCLAIR. Edwin B. Goodell.
MORRISTOWN. Guy Minton.
NEW BRUNSWICK. James H. Van Cleef.
PASSAIC. Geo. P. Rust (City Att'y).
PATERSON. John H. Reynolds, 119½ Washington St.
PRINCETON. Fergus A. Dennis, 132 Nassau St.
RED BANK. Applegate & Hope.
SOMERVILLE. Alvah A. Clark.
TRENTON. W. M. Lanning, 111 E. State St.
" Linton Satterthwait.
WOODBRIDGE. Ephraim Cutter.

New Mexico Territory.

ALBUQUERQUE. Bernard S. Rodey.
DEMING. S. M. Ashenfelter.
LAS CRUCES. S. B. Newcomb.
LAS VEGAS. Johnson & Jones.
" Columbus Moise.
SANTA FE. T. B. Catron.
WHITE OAKS. John Y. Hewitt.

New York.

ALBANY. George M. True, 25 North Pearl St.
AMSTERDAM.
Chas. S. Nisbet, First Nat. Bank Bldg.
BALLSTON SPA. James L. Scott.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BROCKPORT. T. S. Dean.
BROOKLYN. Moffett & Kramer, 894 B'way.
BUFFALO. J. R. Anderson, 19 Builders' Exchange.
CANISTEO. Eli Soule.
CATTARAUGUS. J. M. Wilson.
CORNING. Spencer & Mills.
DAYTON. W. S. Thrasher.
FAR ROCKAWAY. Edmund J. Healy.
FLUSHING. John J. Trapp.
FULTON. Piper & Rice.
GLENS FALLS. Adam Armstrong, Jr.
GOSHEN. Bacon & Merritt.
HOOSICK FALLS. Geo. E. & H. J. Greene.
IRVINGTON. John Harvey.
JAMAICA. John Fleming.
JOHNSTOWN. Andrew J. Nellis.
KINGSTON.
F. L. & A. B. Westbrook, 39 John St.
MARATHON. Henry E. Wilson.
MAYVILLE. A. A. Van Dusen.
MIDDLETOWN. Dill & Cox.
MORRISVILLE. J. A. Johnson.
NEW YORK.
Ellison, Gill & Porteous, 229 Broadway.
James E. Heath, 62 Wall St.
M. S. & I. S. Isaacs, 115 Broadway.
Camillus G. Kidder, 32 Nassau St.
Adolph L. Sanger, 115 Broadway.
Theodore R. Shear, Drexel Bldg.
NORWICH. Henry E. Randall.
PLATTSBURGH. Riley & Hagar.
POUGHKEEPSIE.
John H. Millard, 52 Market St.
PULASKI. S. C. Huntington & Son.
RANDOLPH. Wm. H. Henderson.
ROCHESTER.
Charles M. Allen, 309 Powers Bldg.
ROME.
A. Delos Kneeland, 113 W. Dominick St.
ROUSES POINT. James B. Stearns.
SALAMANCA. James G. Johnson.
SARATOGA SPRINGS. Edgar T. Brackett.
SKANEATELES. C. K. Milford.
SODUS. M. M. Kelly.
TARRYTOWN. Geo. C. Andrews.
THERESA. D. Bearup.
UNION SPRINGS. George P. Wood.
UTICA. Geo. C. Morehouse, City Hall.
WALTON. Sam'l H. Fancher.
WATERLOO. Frederick L. Manning.

North Carolina.

ASHEVILLE. W. W. Jones.
CHARLOTTE. Edwin T. Cansler.
FAYETTEVILLE. N. A. Sinclair.
FRANKLINTON. Needham Y. Gulley.
GREENSBOROUGH. Wm. P. Bynum, Jr.
HENDERSON. Pittman & Shaw.
HIGH POINT. Edwin D. Steele.
JACKSON. B. S. Gay.
MONROE. Robert B. Redwine.
RALEIGH. Robt. O. Burton.
SHELBY. Geo. A. Frick.
WARRENTON. Cook & Polk.
WASHINGTON. John H. Small.
WINSTON. Eller & Starbuck.

North Dakota.

BATHGATE. J. D. Trenholme.
DICKINSON. Leslie A. Simpson.
ENDERLIN. Ed. Pierce.
FARGO. Spalding & Phelps.
GRAND FORKS. Bangs & Fisk.
JAMESTOWN. Lewis T. Hamilton.
MINOT. C. E. Gregory.
RUGBY. E. A. Maglone.
VALLEY CITY. Frank J. Young.
WHEATLAND. Chas. E. Stowers.
WILLOW CITY. See Rugby.

Ohio.

BELLAIRE. Gallaher & Woodbridge.
BELLEFONTAINE. Howenstine & Huston.
BUCYRUS. F. S. Monnett.
CANAL WINCHESTER. W. H. Lane.
CANTON. Miller & Pomerene.
CARROLLTON. Blythe & McDonald.
CHARDON. Metcalfe & King.
CINCINNATI.
W. P. Biddle, 4th & Main Sts.
J. William Johnson, Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
W. H. Mackoy, United Bank Bldg.
CLEVELAND.
W. E. Ambler, 263 The Arcade.
Kerruish, Chapman & Kerruish, 1011 Society for Savings.
COLUMBUS. J. T. Holmes.
CONNEAUT. Allen M. Cox.
DAYTON.
J. A. Wortman, Callahan Bank Bldg.
DE GRAFF. Huston & Huston.
IRONTON. Henry S. Neal.
MANSFIELD. W. L. Sewell.
MIDDLETOWN. B. Harwitz.
NEW CARLISLE. Rannells & Swadner.
NORTH BALTIMORE. E. R. Dean.
OTTAWA. Krauss & Eastman.
RAVENNA. H. L. Beatty, 18 Riddle Block.
RIPLEY. W. D. Young.
SPRINGFIELD. Wm. H. Griffiths.
WAPAKONETA. Layton & Stueve.
WELLINGTON. J. H. Dickson.
WELLSTON. M. T. Vanpelt.
WILMINGTON. Telfair & Telfair.
XENIA. H. C. Armstrong.
YOUNGSTOWN. A. O. Fording.
ZANESVILLE. Munson & Adams.

Oklahoma Territory.

GUTHRIE. Bierer & Cotteral.
" Lowe & Huston.
OKLAHOMA CITY. Henry H. Howard.

Oregon.

ASTORIA. Chas. H. Page, P.O. Box 99.
GRANTS PASS. Robert G. Smith.
LA GRANDE. J. D. Slater.
PENDLETON. Hailey & Lowell.
PORTLAND. W. W. Thayer.
" Wallace McCamant.

Pennsylvania.

ALLENTOWN. James L. Schaadt.
ASHLAND. J. F. Minogue.
BLOOMSBURG. Grant Herring.
BRADFORD. Jack & Roberts.
BUTLER. T. C. Campbell.
CHICORA. M. B. McBride.
CLARION. W. A. Hindman.
COALPORT. Alonzo P. MacLeod.
DANVILLE. R. S. Ammerman.
DU BOIS. Arthur L. Cole.
EBENSBURG. M. D. Kittell.
GREENSBURG. Eicher & Byers.
INDIANA. H. K. Sloan.
JOHNSTOWN. H. W. Storey, 71 Napoleon St.
KANE. A. P. Huey.
LEWISTOWN. F. W. Culbertson.
MCKEESPORT. W. A. Applegate.
MEADVILLE. Pearson Church.
MECHANICSBURGH. Wm. Penn Lloyd.
NANTICOKE. A. E. Chapin.
NEW BLOOMFIELD. W. N. Seibert.
NEW CASTLE. W. H. Falls.
NEWTOWN. Geo. A. Jenks.
NORRISTOWN. Isaac Chism.
OIL CITY. Joseph McSweeney.
PHILADELPHIA.
Warren G. Griffith, 401-6 Drexel Bldg.
Edward Fenno Hoffman, 715 Drexel Bldg.
Shriver, Bartlett & Co., 433-5-7 Chestnut St.
PITTSBURGH.
Marshall Brown, 157 Fourth Ave.
John A. Emery, 131 Fifth Ave.
Samuel J. Graham, 150 Fourth Ave.
William Scott, 100 Diamond St.
PUNXSUTAWNEY. W. W. Winslow.
READING. John H. Rothermel.
RIDGEWAY. N. T. Arnold.
ST. MARYS. Wimmer & Wimmer.
SHIPPENSBURG. J. A. C. McCune.
SUNBURY. S. P. Wolverton.
TARENTUM. Wm. M. Price.
TITUSVILLE. Geo. A. Chase.
TROY. Rockwell & Mitchell.
TYRONE. James F. Riddle.
UNIONTOWN. Edward Campbell.
" George M. Hosack.
WARREN. W. M. Lindsay.
WASHINGTON. Boyd & E. E. Crumrine.
WAYNESBORO. Charles Walter.
WELLSBORO. David Cameron.
WEST CHESTER. Monaghan & Hause.
WESTFIELD. D. W. Baldwin.
WILKES BARRE. A. R. Brundage.
WILLIAMSPORT. T. M. B. Hicks.

Rhode Island.

NEWPORT.
Wm. P. Sheffield, Jr., 223 Thames St.
PROVIDENCE.
James Tillinghast, 12 S. Main St.
WESTERLY. Charles Perrin.

South Carolina.

BARNWELL. J. B. Burkhalter.
BLACKVILLE. Laurie T. Izlar.
CHARLESTON. Mordecai & Gadsden.
" Smythe & Lee.
CHESTER. Hemphill & Hemphill.
DENMARK. S. G. Mayfield.
GREENVILLE. Cothran, Wells, Ansel & Cothran.
LAURENS C. H. W. H. Martin.
MARION. Johnson & Johnson.
ORANGEBURG. I. W. Bowman.
RIDGEWAY. R. A. Meares.
SPARTANBURG. Stanyarne Wilson.
SUMTER. R. O. Purdy.
WINNSBORO. A. S. & W. D. Douglass.

South Dakota.

ABERDEEN. Seeley & Mason.
BERESFORD. A. F. Crandall.
BROOKINGS. Mathews & Murphy.
CLARK. S. A. Keenan.
DEADWOOD. Martin & Mason.
HOT SPRINGS. G. M. Cleveland.
HOWARD. C. A. Crissey.
LEAD. Wm. A. Rinehart.
MILLBANK. John W. Bell.
MITCHELL. Dillon & Preston.
PARKER. Fred H. Dirstine.
PIERRE. Edwin Greene.
" H. R. Horner.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SALEM. E. H. Wilson.
SIOUX FALLS. Bailey & Voorhees.
" " J. M. Donovan.
VERMILLION. Jared Runyan.
YANKTON. Frank E. Warrick.

Tennessee.

CHATTANOOGA. A. C. Downs.
DYERSBURG. S. R. Latta.
HARRIMAN. R. B. Cassell.
KNOXVILLE. Taylor & Roberts.
MEMPHIS.
Wm. M. Randolph & Sons, Randolph Bldg.
NASHVILLE.
John Ruhm.
D. F. Wilkin & Chamberlain, Vanderbilt Law Building.
Sumner A. Wilson, 313 N. Cherry St.
TRENTON. Neil & Deason.
TROY. James G. Smith & Son.

Texas.

ALBANY. Theodore Mack.
AMARILLO. J. W. Link.
AUSTIN. Z. T. Fulmore.
" W. von Rosenberg, Box 844.
BELLVILLE. Martin M. Kenney.
BOWIE. Thomas & McDonald.
BRADY. F. M. Newman.
BROWNWOOD. R. P. Connor.
CAMERON. Henderson & Streetman.
CLARKSVILLE. E. S. Chambers.
CLEBURNE.
Crane (M. M.) & Ramsey (W. F.).
CUERO. Baker & Sumners.
DALLAS. Crawford & Crawford.
" W. B. Merchant.
FORT WORTH. Wynne, McCart & Booty.
GALVESTON. Mann & Baker.
GATESVILLE. M. S. Duffin.
GIDDINGS. I. H. Bowers.
GREENVILLE. J. E. Gilbert.
HENRIETTA. R. D. Welborne.
HILLSBORO. Tarlton & Morrow.
JACKSBORO. Thos. D. Sporer.
JEFFERSON. W. T. Armistead.
KERRVILLE. Chas. J. Gillespie.
LAREDO. H. G. Dickinson.
LLANO. E. J. Darden.
LONGVIEW. Otho F. Lane.
LULING. Cross (F. C.) & Barnhill (E. F.).
MCKINNEY. DeArmond & Church.
" Smith & Evans.
MASON. W. L. Hall.
ORANGE. C. A. Teagle.
ROCKDALE. H. C. Grayson.
SAN ANTONIO. Solon Stewart.
SAN MARCOS. W. O. Hutchison.
SHERMAN. Dillard & Muse.
TYLER. John M. Duncan.
UVALDE. J. P. Cranke.
VERNON. H. Clay Thompson.
" James R. Talbert.
WACO. Robert H. Rogers.
WOLFE CITY. N. F. Tidwell.

Utah Territory.

BOX ELDER. Jones & Jones.
PROVO. E. A. Wedgwood.
SALT LAKE CITY.
Shepard, Cherry & Shepard.
Charles S. Varian.

Vermont.

BARTON LANDING. Orlo H. Austin.
BARRE. John W. Gordon, Gordon's Block.
BELLOWS FALLS. H. D. Ryder.
LUDLOW. W. W. Stickney.
MONTPELIER. T. J. Deavitt.
NORTHFIELD. Frank Plumley.

Virginia.

BIG STONE GAP. Mathews & Maynor.
CHRISTIANSBURG. Phlegar & Johnson.
CULPEPER. Rixey & Barbour.
FREDERICKSBURG. Marye & Fitzhugh.
LYNCHBURG. James E. Edmunds.
MOUNT JACKSON. L. Triplett, Jr.
NORFOLK. Joseph T. Allyn.
" Walke & Old.
" White & Garnett, P. O. Box 665.
PULASKI. T. L. Massie.
RICHMOND.
Courtney & Patterson, 11th and Bank Sts.
Wm. P. De Saussure, 1103 E. Main St.
Wm. H. Sands, 11th & Bank Sts.
RUSTBURGH. Wm. M. Murrell.
TAZEWELL. A. J. & S. D. May.
WARRENTON. Grenville Gaines.
WILLIAMSBURG. Archibald C. Peachy.
WYTHEVILLE. Bl[illegible]y (F. S.) & Blair (Jno. C.).

Washington.

COLFAX. M. B. Kelley.
EVERETT. Delaney & Gamel.
FAIRHAVEN. Eli Wilkin.
NORTH YAKIMA. J. A. Rockford.
OLYMPIA. O. V. Linn.
SEATTLE. Emmons & Emmons.
SPOKANE FALLS. King & Leigh.
TACOMA. E. G. Kreider.

West Virginia.

ADDISON. C. P. Dorr.
BLUEFIELD. Ben W. Terry.
BUCKHANNON. C. C. Higginbotham.
CHARLESTON. Brown, Jackson & Knight.
" Payne & Green.
CLARKSBURG. W. Scott.
HUNTINGTON.
Vison, McDonald & Thompson.
KINGWOOD. D. M. Wotring.
NEW MARTINSVILLE. S. B. Hall.
PARKERSBURG. Van Winkle & Ambler.
PHILIPPI. Dayton & Dayton.
RAVENSWOOD. N. C. Prickett.
WHEELING. Erskine & Allison.

Wisconsin.

ANTIGO. J. H. Trever.
ASHLAND. Wm. F. Shea.
BOSCOBEL. John D. Wilson.
BRODHEAD. Burr Sprague.
CHIPPEWA FALLS. W. H. Stafford.
CLINTONVILLE. Goldberg & Hoxie.
DARLINGTON. Orton & Osborn.
EAU CLAIRE. L. A. Doolittle, 1006 6th Ave.
ELKHORN. J. B. Wheeler.
ELLSWORTH. A. Combacker.
FLORENCE. J. E. Abbott.
FOND DU LAC. N. C. Giffin.
HARTFORD. H. K. Butterfield.
JEFFERSON. W. H. Porter.
LA CROSSE. McConnell & Schweizer.
LANCASTER. Bushnell & Watkins.
MADISON. Lewis & Briggs.
MANITOWOC. Nash & Nash.
" G. G. Sedgwick.
MILWAUKEE.
Miller, Noyes & Miller, 102 Wisconsin St.
Duane Mowry, 30 Loan & Trust Bldg.
Winkler, Flanders, Smith, Bottum & Vilas, 401 E. Water St.
NEILLSVILLE. O'Neill & Marsh.
PHILLIPS. M. Barry.
RIPON. Carter & Dunlap.
SHAWANO. C. C. Dickinson.
STURGEON BAY. O. E. & Y. V. Dreutzer.
SUPERIOR. D. E. Roberts.
WAUKESHA. Ryan & Merton.
" D. H. Sumner.
WAUPACA. E. L. & E. E. Brown.
WEST SUPERIOR. F. S. Parker, 217 Breunig Block.
Reed, Grace & Rock.

Wyoming.

BUFFALO. Chas. H. Burritt.

CANADA.

Manitoba.

BRANDON. Geo. R. Coldwell.
" Henderson & Matheson.
WINNIPEG. Hough & Campbell.

Nova Scotia.

SYDNEY, CAPE BRETON.
Gillies & MacEchen.

Ontario.

BRIGHTON. J. W. Gordon.
PRENTICE. G. E. Schwindt.
PICTON. Allison & Allison.
ST. MARYS. Leonard Harstone.
TORONTO.
Crombie, Worrell & Gwynne, 18-20 King St., West.
WELLAND. Harcourt & Cowper.

Quebec.

SHERBROOKE. Brown & Morris.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There's but one BEST called VICTOR—and it is.

OVERMAN WHEEL CO.

BOSTON. DENVER.
WASHINGTON. SAN FRANCISCO.

A. G. SPALDING & BROS.
SPECIAL AGENTS,
CHICAGO. NEW YORK. PHILADELPHIA.

The Three Reasons

for the constantly increasing popularity of the Franco-American Soups, are,

1st. Such Soups cannot be made at home whatever may be the cost or trouble.

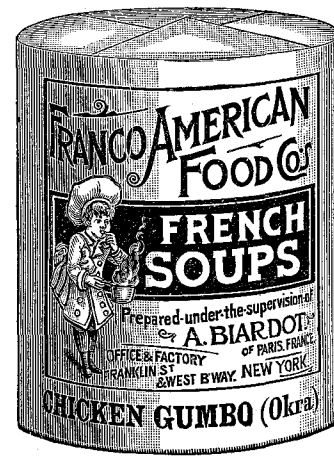
2d. Their high quality has never been approached by other makers.

3d. Their price is moderate.

Sample can, your choice, mailed on receipt of postage 14 cents.

Mock Turtle, Ox Tail, Consomme, Tomato, French Bouillon, Chicken, Chicken Gumbo, Julienne, Printanier, Mutton Broth, Mulligatawny, Vegetable, Beef, Pea, Clam Broth, Pearl Tapioca.

P.S. "Try our Plum Pudding." Sample 14 cents.



Franco-American Food Company,
West Broadway & Franklin St., New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Consumption

may be averted, and now is a good time to begin the work of averting it. If your lungs are weak and your tendency is toward consumption you should think now about preparing yourself for Winter's strain. *Don't wait* until cold weather sets in, but begin at once with

Scott's Emulsion

of Cod-liver Oil, with hypophosphites of lime and soda. Scott's Emulsion will nourish you, build you up, and make your lungs strong so that colds will not settle there. *Physicians*, the world over, endorse it.

Coughs and Colds

and Throat Troubles are speedily cured by Scott's Emulsion. It is a rich fat food that enriches the blood, cures Blood Diseases, creates Healthy Flesh and makes the skin clear and natural in color.

NOTICE! Why should you go contrary to the Physician's advice by allowing some inferior preparation to be substituted for Scott's Emulsion?

Prepared by SCOTT & BOWNE, N. Y. Druggists sell it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Most Wonderful American Water!"

"Sparkling ***LONDONDERRY*** *is the Leading Hotel, Club, and Table Water. An Antidote to Stimulants, Matchless in Flavor, and the Delight of Epicures."*

5,000 Physicians, including more than a hundred Professors in the leading medical colleges, have publicly indorsed **Londonderry** as the most powerful solvent of Uric Acid —the cause of Rheumatism, Gout, Gravel, Bright's and all Kidney and Bladder troubles!

STILL AND SPARKLING. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE. WRITE FOR PAMPHLET.

Londonderry Lithia Spring Water Co.,

NASHUA, N. H.

Charles B. Perkins & Co., Selling Agts., 36 Kilby St., Boston.

New York Office:
76 Broad Street

Philadelphia Office:
1516 Chestnut Street.

Chicago Office:
70 State Street.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NO FAMILY
should be without
Dr. Grosvenor's

Bell-cap-sic Plasters,

a safeguard against congestions, inflammations, or oppressions of the lungs, pneumonia and pleurisy. These diseases should be treated without delay, lest they develop dangerous symptoms unexpectedly.

Bell-cap-sic Plasters
are quick in action and lasting in effect. Invaluable in treatment of rheumatisms, sprains, strains and all lamenesses. They cure by removing the cause.

FOR WOMEN,
Bell-cap-sic Plasters are invaluable; they rest the muscles, relieve tired, aching backs, and drive away pains peculiar to the sex.

MEN
find instant relief from pleurisy, lumbago and kidney pains.

Druggists Everywhere, or

CAUTION.
The genuine **Bell-cap-sic** have a picture of a bell on the back cloth—look for it.

BELL-CAP-SIC PLASTERS

J. M. GROSVENOR & CO.,
Boston, Mass.

A NATIONAL PRIZE to T. Laroche
of **16,600** fr.

QUINA-LAROCHE

"It is an agreeable and highly efficacious remedy."—London Lancet.

Gold Medals awarded at Vienna, Paris, Sydney, etc.

For GENERAL DEBILITY, FEVER and AGUE, EXHAUSTION, POORNESS of the BLOOD, etc.

Also prepared with **IRON** for the prevention and cure of **ANEMIA, CHLOROSIS, SCROFULOUS AFFECTIONS, etc.**

PARIS, 22 rue Drouot.

E. FOUGERA & CO., Agents for United States,

30 N. William street, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"FRANK SEAMAN controls patronage because he knows how to make and place an advertisement."

From an article by GEO. P. ROWELL, in May 10th "Printer's Ink."

FRANK SEAMAN,
874 BROADWAY, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2 for the price of 1

Practically your choice of any
American periodical ***FREE.***

We have carefully investigated the offer made below by the Godey Publishing Co. and have taken advantage of it ourselves. We believe it to be absolutely trustworthy in every particular.

Chauncey M. Depew,
Pres't. N.Y. C. & H.R. R.R.

Thomas L. James
Pres't Lincoln Nat'l Bank N.Y.
and Ex Post Master General U.S.A.
Ex Post Master New York City.

We Will Present You

with a one year's fully paid subscription to ANY ONE of the following Magazines or Periodicals:

THIS UNPARALLELED OFFER LITERALLY MEANS THAT YOU receive **two** periodicals for the regular price of One—as follows:

GODEY'S & SCRIBNER'S.	Regular price of both is	$6.00.	You receive	both	by sending	$3.00	to Godey's,	N.Y.
" " LIPPINCOTT'S.	"	6.00.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " REVIEW OF REVIEWS.	"	5.50.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " PETERSON'S MAGAZINE.	"	5.00.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " GOOD HOUSEKEEPING.	"	5.00.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " DEMOREST'S MAGAZINE.	"	5.00.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " THE COSMOPOLITAN.	"	4.50.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " NEW YORK LEDGER.	"	5.00.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " SUNDAY SCHOOL TIMES	"	4.50.	"	"		3.00	"	"
" " LIFE.	"	8.00.	"	"		5.00	"	"
" " JUDGE.	"	8.00.	"	"		5.00	"	"
" " PUCK.	"	8.00.	"	"		5.00	"	"
" " NORTH AM. REVIEW.	"	8.00.	"	"		5.00	"	"
" " THE CENTURY. "	"	7.00.	"	"		4.00	"	"
" " HARPER'S BAZAAR.	"	7.00.	"	"		4.00	"	"
" " HARPER'S MAGAZINE.	"	7.00.	"	"		4.00	"	"
" " FRANK LESLIE'S ILL'D WEEKLY.	"	7.00.	"	"		4.00	"	"

The above combinations are merely suggestions. If you prefer to couple Godey's with any other periodical we will furnish rates corresponding to the above on any American publication desired. This is not an ordinary clubbing proposition. Terms like these were never offered before; and cannot be had elsewhere.

"GODEY'S MAGAZINE in its latest number just received will compare favorably with any similar publication on either side of the water. The illustrations are superb, and the letter press is perfect. Its contributions are selected with great care and judgment. It is truly an educator while always entertaining. The lithographic portraits of eminent society ladies are as perfect as the most exquisite water colors. Their complete novels in every issue invariably furnish delightful reading."—*N.Y. Mail and Express*

A limited number of specimen copies of Godey's Magazine **free** *on application, or purchase a copy from your nearest newsdealers.*

Special Limited Offer to readers of THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL. The regular *cash* yearly subscription price of GODEY'S MAGAZINE, THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL and THE DELINEATOR (Butterick's) combined is **$5.00**. If you will send at once **$3.00** to Godey's Magazine, 21 Park Row, New York, we will forward GODEY'S MAGAZINE for one entire year (12 months) from date of receiving subscription, and one whole year (12 months each) of THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL and THE DELINEATOR (Butterick's).

Above offer *good only* when remittances are sent, direct to

Godey Publishing Co., 21 Park Row, New York.

NOTE—Remit to Godey's, by Postal Note, Money Order or Registered Letter.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CYCLOPEDIC REVIEW OF CURRENT HISTORY

A Unique Work.

An Illustrated Quarterly Magazine devoted to recording the world's history as it is being made. Not mere newspaper clippings, but an original, carefully studied review of political, religious, scientific and industrial affairs.

It is accurate in its details, comprehensive in statements of public affairs, and covers every subject that has been brought up during the last three months in every nation in every part of the world. The illustrations are a substantial addition to its practical value.—Boston *Herald*.

For Busy People.

Wheat without chaff; points of interest clearly stated, wearisome details omitted, leaving the facts that make history instructive and interesting.

I am much struck with the variety of solid information you manage to condense into so small a compass.—Pres. J. G. SCHURMAN, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

An Impartial Record of Permanent Value.

Presenting facts only, and leaving readers to form their own opinions. All matter carefully classified and thoroughly indexed at the end of each year, making a work that increases in value with each volume added.

HENRY E. SHEPHERD, President College of Charleston.—I find *Current History* of rare value to me and keep it constantly at hand. Its minuteness, accuracy and condensation are admirable.

C. A. WHITING, M.Sc., University of Utah.—There are few books that I consult more frequently.

EX-PRESIDENT HARRISON.—Interesting and useful.

Subscription Price $1.50 a Year.

Single copies, 40 cents. *On mention of* THE FORUM *a sample copy will be mailed for 20 cents.* Descriptive circulars free. Each number contains about 224 pages.

GARRETSON, COX & CO., PUBLISHERS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

WHAT IS THE

"GUARDIAN ANGEL" by LILLIAN?

THE MOST INTERESTING BOOK OF THIS CENTURY, AND THE SILENCING FOR ALL TIME OF EVERY ARGUMENT THAT HAS EVER BEEN HURLED AT REVEALED RELIGION.

Read extensive reviews. ALL BOOKSELLERS.

Cloth edition, $1.50. Ready November 1.
Paper edition, 30 CENTS. NOW READY.

When ordering direct of publishers send postal note, money order, or 3 ten-cent pieces stuck to a card. Do not send stamps. Why not read the great book about which the world is talking? **New cheap paper edition positively limited.** When not obtainable of your bookseller order direct.

The Ideal Publishing Co.,
29 Clinton Ave., Albany, N. Y.

When you ask for the book at your local public library be sure and ask for the one by Lillian.

(Mention this paper.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

50 ENGRAVED VISITING CARDS, $1.00. For 15 cents we will send you a copy of our new illustrated Card Etiquette Story "MARGARET MARCHLAND'S OUTING." Samples Visiting Cards or Wedding Invitations 4 cents. Satisfaction guaranteed. The Bellman Bros. Co., 324 Oak Street, Toledo, O.

Desks Folding Beds, Metal Chairs. A. H. Andrews & Co., CHICAGO: 215 Wabash Av.

WE read newspapers for Professional, Society, Literary People and Authors. Our field is the Pacific Coast. Terms of service reasonable, and will be made known on application. Address
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU, Box 2329, San Francisco, Cal.

THE FORUM.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

SUBSCRIBERS who wish their address changed will kindly send notice before the 20th of each month, in order to receive the forthcoming number at the new address. To prevent delay the old address should be given when ordering the change.

Well-bred watches

result from noble ancestry,

early association, discipline, and natural selection: They are chosen by well-bred people; who prefer taste, elegance, and accurate *time*, rather than display and great expense. Expensive things are seldom the most stylish or satisfying. You will miss your train or your dinner quite as easy and often with a hundred-dollar watch, as with the new, **quick-winding** Waterbury, which is just as handsome, is *genuine*, and costs from $15 down to $4.

Jeweled movement; stem-winding and setting; guaranteed case;—filled, gold, coin-silver, etc.—for business men, ladies, and boys. All jewelers.

If any jeweler does not keep the Waterbury watches, write us.

WATERBURY WATCH CO.,
Waterbury, Conn.

"LISTEN TO THE" tale of **FLORIDA** Profit and loss. Advantages and drawbacks in our monthly "**Florida Homeseeker,**" telling of an ideal township and climate. High, healthful lands. **Freedom** from Frosts, Swamps, and Malaria; 25 clear lakes.
Cheap homes sold on $1.00 (and up) per month.
Cheap transportation to settlers and prospectors.
Cheap and good hotel board. **Free** boating, etc.
Oranges, Lemons, and Pineapples our Staples.
Summer is here delightful. No negroes; no liquors. Sample Paper Free. Hundreds buying. Write now. **O. M. CROSBY, Editor, Avon Park, Fla.**

THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA COMPANY

GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.

Greatest offer. Now's your time to get orders for our celebrated **Teas, Coffees** and **Baking Powder,** and secure a beautiful Gold Band or Moss Rose China Tea Set, Dinner Set, Gold Band Moss Rose Toilet Set, Watch, Brass Lamp, Castor, or Webster's Dictionary. For particulars address **THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA CO.,**
P. O. Box 289. 31 and 33 Vesey St., New York.

OPIUM Morphine Habit Cured in 10 to 20 days. No pay till cured. DR. J. STEPHENS, Lebanon, Ohio.

DRINK HIRES' ROOT BEER,
A temperance drink for temperance people. A health-giving drink for the masses.

HYPNOTISM.
Its uses and abuses. How the Science is easily acquired by any one. New illustrated book, just out, $1.00., 100 pp. pamphlet 10c. Address **Prof. ANDERSON, F. 11. 182 State St., Chicago.**

To CALIFORNIA AND BACK

By the Santa Fe Route. The most attractive American tour. A new descriptive book, with the above title, containing over 150 pages and as many pen and ink illustrations, sent free on receipt of 4 cents in postage, by
JNO. J. BYRNE,
724 Monadnock Building, **CHICAGO, ILL.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chautauqua Oil Heater Free WITH A COMBINATION BOX OF "SWEET HOME" SOAP.

Warmth and cleanliness are vital to good health. By actual experience only can you conceive the comfort our handy, portable heater gives. It quickly dispels chill or dampness in sitting room, bath room, chamber or nursery, will boil a kettle or fry a steak. Heats a large room in coldest weather. Handsomely nickel plated. Central Draft Round Wick Burner. One gal. Kerosene lasts 14 hours.

THE COMBINATION BOX CONTAINS

100 Bars "Sweet Home" Soap, Enough to last an average family one full year. Equal to double the amount of common cheap soaps.	$6.00	¼ doz. Creme Oatmeal Toilet Soap,	.25
		¼ doz. Elite Toilet Soap,	.25
		¼ doz. Larkin's Tar Soap, Infallible preventive of Dandruff. Unequaled for washing ladies' hair.	.45
9 Pkgs. Boraxine Washing Powder, Cannot possibly injure the fabric. Simple—Easy—Efficient.	.90	¼ doz. Sulphur Soap,	45
		One Jar Modjeska Cold Cream, Soothing. Cures chapped skin.	.25
¼ doz. Modjeska Complexion Soap, Exquisite for ladies and children. A matchless beautifier.	.60	One Bottle Modjeska Tooth Powder, Preserves the teeth, hardens the gums, sweetens the breath.	.25
One Bottle, 1 oz., **Modjeska Perfume,** Delicate, refined, popular, lasting.	.25	1 Pkt. Spanish Rose Sachet Powder,	.25
¼ doz. Ocean Bath Toilet Soap,	.30	One Stick Napoleon Shaving Soap,	.10

Every refined family uses in a year for its health and happiness the assortment our box provides. The contents if bought at retail, cost - - - - - $10.30
HEATER, worth at retail, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 10.00

ALL FOR $10.00. (You get the Heater gratis,) - - - - - - $20.30

HEIGHT, - - 3 FEET.
DIA. OF DRUM, - 8½ IN.
WEIGHT, - - 30 LBS.

ENDORSED BY PHYSICIANS.

You save half the regular retail prices, besides the added inestimable satisfaction of using only the best and purest goods, by buying direct from the manufacturer.

ORDER TO-DAY. YOU RUN NO RISK.—We do not ask you to remit in advance, or take any chances. We merely ask to send you a HEATER and Combination Box, and if after 30 days' trial you are fully satisfied, you can pay the bill—**$10.00.** But if you are not, no charge will be made for what you have used and we will take the box away at our own expense. HOW CAN WE DO MORE?

Some people prefer to send cash with order—we do not ask it—but if you remit in advance, we will send in addition to all extras named, a valuable present for the lady of the house, and ship same day order is received. Money refunded without argument or comment if the box or HEATER does not prove all expected.

We can refer you to thousands who have used "Sweet Home" Soap for many years, over ten thousand of whom have become stockholders in our company; or any banker in the United States. Also R. G. Dun & Co., and Bradstreet Co.

ESTAB. 1875. INCOR. 1892. CAPITAL, $500,000

The LARKIN SOAP MFG. CO., Buffalo, N. Y.

MAKE HOME BEAUTIFUL for $1.00.

Each Number of THE ART INTERCHANGE contains 5 Supplements—Three in Color, Two in Black and White
THE
ART
INTERCHANGE
AN ILLUSTRATED GUIDE FOR AMATEURS AND STUDENTS, WITH HINTS ON ARTISTIC DECORATION
COPYRIGHTED 1892, BY THE ART INTERCHANGE COMPANY

Single Copies, including 3 colored plates, 15 cents. New York

We will send eighteen superb large pictures, in color, flowers, fruit, landscapes, figures, etc., suitable for putting on your walls or copying, together with six copies of **The Art Interchange Monthly Magazine,** containing practical plans and drawings of house interiors and exteriors, and careful instruction for furnishing of halls and rooms; embroidery, new designs for china painting, wood carving, etc.

Tapestry Painting can easily be learned—we supply colored pictures, full-size outline drawings, and instructions.

This magazine tells about the artists of to-day, with portraits and engravings of their work; art gossip, and travel. Latest novelties in art and home furnishing are described. Instructions in painting, embroidery, and all other forms of home art work. Yearly subscription, $4.00, but we make this most liberal offer to give all readers of THE FORUM a chance to see for themselves what an indispensable thing **The Art Interchange** is in EVERY HOME.

Eighteen pictures in colors; twelve large pattern supplements, with designs for the decoration of every object in the home; six copies of The Art Interchange, a handsomely illustrated monthly magazine (established 1878)—ALL FOR $1.00.

At catalogue prices the pictures ALONE sell for $3.90. *You cannot make a better INVESTMENT WITH* $1.00 *than to send to us for this great offer.*

SPECIAL OFFER.—If you subscribe NOW to **The Art Interchange** and remit $4.00 *direct to our office*, we will send you the above-named eighteen pictures and six copies of the magazine by return mail FREE, as a premium; or, you may remit $1.00 now for this offer and we will give you the privilege of subscribing within two weeks for a full year at only $3.00. Each copy of the magazine contains three colored pictures and two design supplements. This offer good only to those who order before Dec. 31st, when this offer will be withdrawn.

A specimen copy with three colored pictures will be sent for 20 cents. Descriptive illustrated catalogue for two-cent stamp.

[Nov., '93, FORUM.]

THE ART INTERCHANGE CO., 9 Desbrosses St., New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New York, Poughkeepsie.

Riverview Academy.

58th year. Prepares thoroughly for College, the Government Academies, and Business. Military Organization.

BISBEE & AMEN, Principals.

New York, Poughkeepsie.

Lyndon Hall.

For Young Ladies. A thorough preparatory school, with optional courses for those who do not wish to enter college.

SAMUEL WELLS BUCK, A.M., Principal.

New York, Poughkeepsie.

Eastman Business College.

A *live* school for the training of *live* business men. Thorough instruction in *Academic and Commercial Studies, Stenography, Typewriting*, etc. Business men supplied with competent assistants. Address for catalogue,

CARRINGTON GAINES, President.

North Carolina, Asheville.

Bingham School for Boys.

1793. Established in 1793. **1893.**

201st session begins September 1st, 1893.

Maj. R. BINGHAM, Superintendent.

North Carolina, Raleigh.

St. Mary's School for Girls.

The Easter Term of the Fifty-first School Year will begin January 26th, 1893. Special attention paid to Physical Culture and Hygiene. Address the Rector,

Rev. B. SMEDES, A.M.

Ohio, Ada.

Ohio Normal University.

A Good School.

Do you want an education, Classical, Scientific, Business, Legal, Pharmaceutical, Musical, or Fine Art? Do you want to educate your children? If so, send for catalogue of the Ohio Normal University, Ada, Ohio, one of the largest and best schools in in the country. Last annual enrollment, 2,834; 30 States represented; also several foreign countries. Advantages unexcelled, expenses low.

Will furnish room, good board in private family, and tuition 10 weeks, for $28; 49 weeks, $118. Has university powers and confers all degrees. Teachers are thorough and experienced. Students can enter at any time to advantage. If things are not found as represented, we will pay all traveling expenses. Send for catalogue.

H. S. LEHR, A.M., President.

Ohio, Columbus, 151 E. Broad St.

Miss Phelps' English and Classical School for

Young Ladies and Children. Special advantages in Languages, Literature, Music, Art, Oratory, Physical and Social Culture, College Preparation. Fall Term begins September 27th, 1893.

Pennsylvania, Birmingham.

Mountain Seminary.

A thorough school for Young Ladies. Situation noted for health. Home comforts. 36th year. Finest school grounds in the State (100 acres). New gymnasium. Send for illustrated catalogue.

A. R. GRIER, Business Manager. Miss N. J. DAVIS, Prin.

Pennsylvania, Chambersburg.

Wilson College for Women.

Fifty miles southwest of Harrisburgh, Pa., in famous Cumberland Valley. Six trains daily. Border climate, avoiding bleak north. Classical, scientific, and special courses of studies. Large music college and art school. Music department this year, 164, independent of free classes. Full faculty. College course, B.A. and B.S. degrees; music college, B.M. Handsome park, large buildings, steam heat, gymnasium, observatory, laboratories, etc.

Rev. J. EDGAR, Ph.D., President.

Pennsylvania, Germantown,
202, 204 and 335 W. Chelten Ave.

Miss Mary E. Stevens' School.

25th year. "Approved" by Bryn Mawr College. Bryn Mawr entrance examinations are held in the school by an examiner from the college. School certificate admits to Vassar.

Pennsylvania, Hollidaysburg.

Hollidaysburg School for Young Women

and Girls. Thorough instruction. Methods adapted to the individuality of each pupil. Home comforts. Location exceptionally healthful. Address

Mrs. R. S. HITCHCOCK.

Pennsylvania, Lititz.

The Beck Family School

for fifteen boys from seven to thirteen years of age. 28th year.

ABRAHAM R. BECK, Principal.

Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 4313 Walnut St.

A Thorough French and English Home School

for twenty girls. Under the charge of Mme. H. Clerc and Miss M. L. Peck, both late of St. Agnes' School, Albany, N. Y. French warranted to be spoken in two years. Terms $300 a year. Address MME. H. CLERC.

Pennsylvania, Ogontz School P. O.

Ogontz School for Young Women.

Established in 1850. Twenty minutes from Philadelphia, two hours from New York. Opens Sept. 28th. For circulars and reports apply to Principals.

Pennsylvania, Ogontz (near Philadelphia).

Cheltenham Military Academy.

Represented by its graduates in Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Amherst, University of Pennsylvania, Lafayette, and West Point. (Lehigh University and Trinity College added for '93–'94.) 23d year. JOHN CALVIN RICE, Prin.

Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Germantown.

Walnut Lane School.

Boarding and Day School for Girls. 37th year opens Sept. 27th. Academical and college preparatory courses. For circular address Mrs. THEODORA B. RICHARDS, Principal.

Miss SARA LOUISE TRACY, A.M., Associate Principal.

Vermont, Burlington.

Vermont Episcopal Institute.

Military Boarding School. Prepares boys for College, Scientific Schools or Business. Wholesome discipline. Most healthful and beautiful location. Terms $400. Catalogues.

H. H. ROSS, A.M., Principal.

Vermont, Burlington.

The Bishop Hopkins Hall.

The Diocesan School for Girls. Prepares for any College receiving young women. For circulars address

The Rev. LUCIUS M. HARDY, Rector.

Virginia, Hollins—Located in Valley of Va.

Hollins Institute

for 200 ladies. 51st Session opens Sept. 13th, 1893. Eclectic Courses in all Languages and Sciences, Music, Art, Elocution. 8 male professors, 20 ladies. 1,200 ft. above sea level. Mineral waters. Mountain scenery.

CHAS. L. COCKE, Supt.

Virginia, Lexington.

Virginia Military Institute.

Military, Scientific, and Technical School. Courses in Applied Chemistry and Engineering. Expenses $36.50 per month, exclusive of outfit. New cadets report Sept. 1st.

Gen. SCOTT SHIPP, Superintendent.

Virginia, Salem.

Roanoke College,

In the Virginia Mountains. Choice of Courses for Degrees; high standard. A Commercial Course. Library 17,000 volumes. Working Laboratory. Buildings improved. *Steam Heat.* Healthful mountain climate for students from North and South. *Very moderate expenses.* Aid to deserving students. Catalogue, with 8 views, free. Address

JULIUS D. DREHER, President.

Wisconsin, Elkhart P. O.

Warwick Park Home School

For Little Folks from 3 to 12 years of age. Conducted on Kindergarten principles. Nervous children and those suffering with catarrh will be greatly benefited, as the school is situated on one of the most picturesque lakes of Wisconsin, whose shores are skirted by cedars and evergreens. Address

FANNIE SCHWEDLER BARNES, Principal.

Elkhart is 62 miles north of Milwaukee, on the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul R. R.

For other College and School Announcements see pages 16, 17, and 18

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fine Dry Goods for the Holidays.

No line of business, this year, will offer a wider choice of suitable, acceptable, and prudent Holiday Gifts, than can be found in Dry Goods.

Here is one list:
Sealskins and all sorts of Furs;
Laces, Handkerchiefs, and Gloves;
Umbrellas, Hosiery, and Neckwear;
Camel's Hair and Chudda Shawls;
Household and Table Linens.

Perhaps you have never thought of us when buying these things; you may imagine we only keep Silks and Dress Goods.

Write to our Mail Order Department for prices and information.

JAMES McCREERY & CO.,
Broadway & 11th St., New York.

FISCHER
ESTABLISHED 1840.

PIANOS
RENOWNED FOR
TONE & DURABILITY
MODERATE PRICES
EASY TERMS. EXCHANGED.
ENDORSED BY LEADING ARTISTS.
Catalogue Mailed on Application.
110 Fifth Ave., cor. 16th Street,
NEW YORK CITY.

WOOD-CARPET
ORNAMENTAL WOOD-FLOORS.
For Parlors, Libraries, Dining Rooms, Halls, Stores, Offices, and Borders for Rugs. Also Manufacturer of Egyptian and Moorish Fret Work, Grilles, etc. J. W. BOUGHTON, 1207 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa. *Largest Mfr. in the world.*
Branches:—BOUGHTON & TERWILLIGER, 23d St under 5th Ave. Hotel. N. Y., and 286 Fulton St., Brooklyn.
BOUGHTON & LINVILLE, 201 Tremont St., Boston.
Send for new 48-page book of designs.

Double BREECH LOADER $6.00
RIFLES $2.00
BICYCLES $15
GUNS
All kinds cheaper than elsewhere. Before you buy send stamp for catalogue.
POWELL & CLEMENT CO.
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

GORHAM SOLID SILVER.

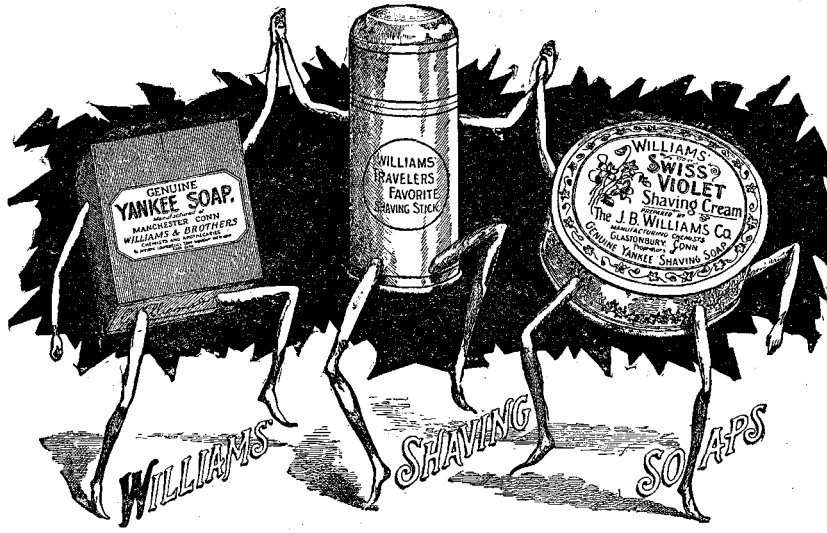
WHERE AND HOW TO BUY IT.

These wares can be purchased direct from the Company at their salesrooms, Broadway and 19th Street, New-York, or on equally favorable terms of all the better class of jewellers. If any doubt exists as to the identity of the maker, ask for and insist upon examining the trade-mark. The Gorham trade-mark on Solid Silver consists of a Lion, an Anchor and the initial G, with the word "Sterling" underneath.

GORHAM M'F'G CO.
Silversmiths,
Broadway and 19th Street, New-York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE "3" DROMEOS.



Hand in Hand - like Brothers"—Not one, &c.

"YANKEE"—15c. SHAVING STICK—25c. SHAVING CREAM—50c.

All similar in *quality*—making an equally—rich—— creamlike—*never-drying* LATHER.

They **differ**—in style—size—odor——to suit various tastes.

The drug store that does not keep them is hard to find. If your druggist does not have the kind you want—write to us.

The J. B. WILLIAMS CO.,
(ESTABLISHED 1840.) **Glastonbury, Conn., U. S. A.**

BOUND VOLUMES.

THE FORUM is a compendium of all important discussions since it was founded (March, 1886), and its contents are indexed in all the standard indices of periodical literature. It is bound in handsome, durable cloth, 6 numbers to a volume (about 650 pages). Volumes begin with the numbers for March and September. Price per bound volume (post-paid), $3. Dates of completed volumes are :

Volume I., MARCH, 1886—AUGUST, 1886 ;
Volume II., SEPTEMBER, 1886—FEBRUARY, 1887 ;
Volume III., MARCH, 1887—AUGUST, 1887 ;
Volume IV., SEPTEMBER, 1887—FEBRUARY, 1888 ;
Volume V., MARCH, 1888—AUGUST, 1888 ;
Volume VI., SEPTEMBER, 1888—FEBRUARY, 1889 ;
Volume VII., MARCH, 1889—AUGUST, 1889 ;
Volume VIII., SEPTEMBER, 1889—FEBRUARY, 1890 ;
Volume IX., MARCH, 1890—AUGUST, 1890 ;
Volume X., SEPTEMBER, 1890—FEBRUARY, 1891 ;
Volume XI., MARCH, 1891—AUGUST, 1891 ;
Volume XII., SEPTEMBER, 1891—FEBRUARY, 1892 ;
Volume XIII., MARCH, 1892—AUGUST, 1892 ;
Volume XIV., SEPTEMBER, 1892—FEBRUARY, 1893 ;
Volume XV., MARCH, 1893—AUGUST, 1893.

THE FIFTEEN BOUND VOLUMES WILL BE SENT (POST-PAID) FOR $40.

Unbound copies of THE FORUM, in good condition, will be exchanged for bound volumes, at 50 cents per volume, the person making the exchange paying transportation charges both ways.

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY,
UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The First Coin

rolling up hill we will find in time to give to the person who cannot make a delicious cup of bouillon from

Cudahy's Extract of Beef

Rex Brand.

This is the most delicate and delicious Beef Extract on the market. It cannot be equalled for soups or gravies or for other household purposes.

Sold by all grocers.

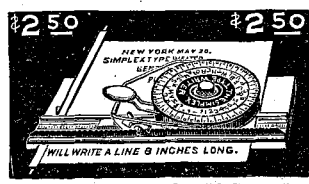
Send 6c. for postage on sample package, mailed free.

The Cudahy Pharmaceutical Co.,
South Omaha, Neb.

WE PAY POST-AGE

All you have guessed about life insurance may be wrong. If you wish to know the truth, send for "How and Why," issued by the PENN MUTUAL LIFE, 921-35 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

THE SIMPLEX TYPEWRITER



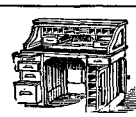
GUARANTEED to do as good work as any high priced machine. Specially adapted for use in private correspondence. Sent by mail or express prepaid on receipt of $2.75 In handsome walnut box 50c extra.

Simplex Typewriter Co., 30 Great Jones St., New York.

BARGAINS IN TYPEWRITERS.

$85.00 Caligraphs for $20.00 and up. $95.00 Remingtons for $35.00 and up. Odells for $8.00. Others in proportion.

A. W. GUMP & CO., Dayton, Ohio.



Columbian Desk Catalogue 160 pages, postage 7c. Desks from $6.00 to $600.00.

American Desk & Seating Co.
270-272 Wabash Av., **CHICAGO, U.S.A.**

TYPEWRITERS.

Unprejudiced advice given. All makes half-price. Shipped anywhere for examination. Exchanging a Specialty. Monthly payments. 52-page cat. free.

TYPEWRITER HEADQUARTERS, { 45 Liberty St., New York. { 186 Monroe St., Chicago.

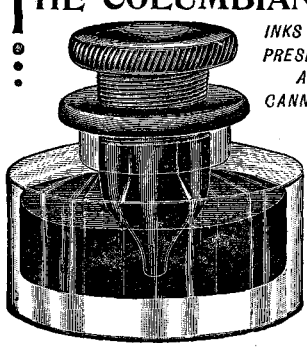
The Hopson and Chapin Man'f'g Co.,

Warmth and Fresh Air By Hot Water.

Foundry Machine Shops and Main Office
New London, Conn.

New Catalogue.

THE COLUMBIAN INKSTAND



INKS THE PEN JUST RIGHT.
PRESERVES THE INK CLEAR AND LIMPID.
CANNOT GET OUT OF ORDER.

The use of this Inkstand makes writing a luxury. By preventing too much ink from adhering to the pen the busy scribbler is not troubled with inky fingers nor unsightly blots upon his documents.

Once Used, Never Without.

Price, $1.00 each.

An elegant descriptive Pamphlet sent on application.

BOYD & ABBOT CO., 23 Warren St., New York.

Two Systems

of Life Insurance are contesting the field for public favor—the Old Line and the New. The former is cumbersome, artificial and costly. The latter is simple, natural and inexpensive. The

Massachusetts BENEFIT LIFE ASSOCIATION

Is a striking example of the new plan of Life Insurance.

The Largest and Strongest Natural-Premium Insurance Co. of New England.

35,000 MEMBERS.
$105,000,000 INSURANCE in Force.
$1,000,000 CASH SURPLUS.
$7,000,000 Paid in DEATH LOSSES.

The **NEW POLICY** of the Massachusetts Benefit Association has no superior. It gives **Cash Dividends, Cash Surrender Values, Paid-Up Insurance,** and other desirable options.

Splendid Openings for Energetic Men to Act as Special, General and State Agents.

GEO. A. LITCHFIELD, Pres., 53 State St., Boston.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Curious, isn't it—

how some people persist in clinging to old-fogy ideas in the face of acknowledged improvements? For many years lard has been the housekeeper's mainstay for shortening purposes. She knows it is unwholesome, no matter how judiciously used; she is aware that no other single food ingredient has occasioned so much indigestion and ruined so many complexions: and yet, ten to one, when a perfect substitute, a substitute lacking all the unwholesomeness of lard—is offered her she will hesitate to give it a trial. We hope you are not this particular sort of housekeeper because we want you to try

Cottolene.

COTTOLENE is our SUBSTITUTE FOR LARD. It is composed of the choicest beef suet combined with a highly refined vegetable oil, and while giving perfect satisfaction for all shortening and frying purposes, and, at the same time, adding a delicious flavor to the food, it is easily digested and thoroughly wholesome. There can be no harm in giving COTTOLENE a trial, only be sure that it is COTTOLENE and not an imitation you are trying, after that you will agree with us regarding its superiority over lard. COTTOLENE is sold in three and five pound pails.

Made only by **N. K. FAIRBANK & CO.,**

Chicago, St. Louis, Montreal, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco.

A Marvelous Record

The frequent publication of figures showing the transactions of the Life Insurance Companies of this country has to some extent familiarized the public mind with the magnitude of the beneficent work they have done. The following comprehensive statement is a revelation as to what has been done by the greatest of all the companies,

The Mutual Life of New York.

SINCE IT WAS ORGANIZED IN 1843 IT

Has received from its Policy-holders more than	388
Has collected for its Policy-holders more than	120
Has paid to its Policy-holders more than	304
Has paid for its Policy-holders less than	65
And holds Invested for its Policy-holders more than	140

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.
ROBERT A. GRANNISS, Vice-President.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We are advertised by our loving friends."

Give the Baby Mellin's Food

If you wish your infant to be well nourished, healthy, bright, and active, and to grow up happy, robust, and vigorous.

The BEST FOOD for
Hand-fed Infants, Invalids, Convalescents, Dyspeptics, and the Aged,
—IS—

Mellin's Food

—FOR—

INFANTS and INVALIDS.

Our Book for the instruction of mothers,
"The Care and Feeding of Infants,"
will be mailed free to any address upon request.

DOLIBER-GOODALE CO.,
Boston, Mass.

MERRELL F. HUBBARD,
Taunton, Mass

Why is Chocolat-Menier used the World over in preference to Cocoa?

Because of its superiority in strengthening properties and exceptional purity. Powdered Cocoa is sure to be chemically treated, therefore more or less injurious to health. If you wish to improve your digestion, abandon tea, coffee and cocoa, and enjoy the luxury of this world-renowned French product.

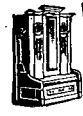
ASK YOUR GROCER FOR
CHOCOLAT MENIER
Annual Sales Exceed 33 MILLION LBS.
SAMPLES SENT FREE. MENIER, N.Y.

Cocoa and Chocolate
ARE NO MORE TO BE COMPARED WITH EACH OTHER THAN
Skimmed Milk to pure Cream.

PAMPHLET giving recipes and sample free. {Mention this publication.

MENIER (Am. Branch), 86 W. Broadway, N.Y. City.

FREE A fine 14k gold plated watch to every reader of this paper. Cut this out and send it to us with your full name and address, and we will send you one of these elegant, richly jeweled, gold finished watches by express for examination, and if you think it is equal in appearance to any $25.00 gold watch pay our sample price, $3.50, and it is yours. We send with the watch our guarantee that you can return it at any time within one year if not satisfactory, and if you sell or cause the sale of six we will give you **One Free.** Write at once, as we shall send out samples for 60 days only. Address
THE NATIONAL M'F'G & IMPORTING CO.,
334 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.



Weightless "Gem" Beds
Piano and Typewriters' Chairs
Office Desks. Mfrs.
A. H. Andrews & Co., 215 Wabash Av. CHICAGO.

The Orcutt Comp'y Leading Lithographers
W. B. ORCUTT, GENL. MGR.
Corresp'd'ce Solicited. Chicago.

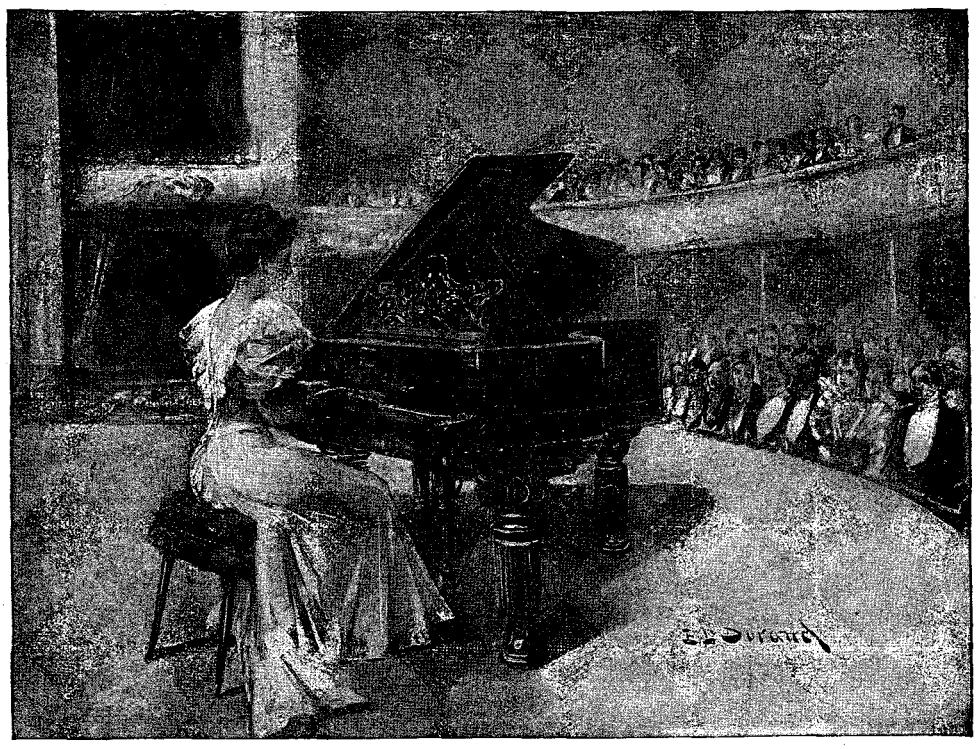
ARE YOU DEAF?

DON'T YOU WANT TO HEAR?

THE AURAPHONE will surely help you if you do. It is a new scientific invention which will restore the hearing of any one not **born** deaf. When in the ear it is **invisible,** and does not cause the slightest discomfort in wearing. It is to the ear what the glasses are to the eye, an ear spectacle. Trial free and money refunded if unsatisfactory. Enclose stamp for particulars.

THE AURAPHONE CO., 607 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Our Best Testimonial.

Pianos most often seen on concert platforms and recommended in advertisements by professional players are not necessarily the best. They sound well because they are usually tuned before each performance and their good points then brought out by musicians chosen for their skill. Do you value testimonials? We have thousands of them in the shape and form of

The EVERETT PIANO

itself in the possession of as many pleased and satisfied owners. It is our best testimonial.

If not for sale by your
local dealer, address

THE JOHN CHURCH CO.,

CHICAGO, ILLS. CINCINNATI, O.

Old or unsatisfactory pianos and organs taken
in trade on new upright and grand pianos.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ART AMATEUR

THE BEST AND LARGEST PRACTICAL ART MAGAZINE. (Established 1879.) Invaluable to all interested in art, whether as artists, art students, or simply as persons of taste who wish to make their home surroundings beautiful.

THE ONLY ART PERIODICAL AWARDED A MEDAL AT THE WORLD'S FAIR.

Until the limited supply shall be exhausted, we offer subscribers for 1894 (who send with this [*Forum*] advertisement $4.00—regular annual subscription price—direct to the publisher) their choice of the following special premium offers:

4 NUMBERS AND 20 COLOR STUDIES FREE

Premium No. 1. Special for **Oil Painting** and **Tapestry Painting**

Premium No. 2. Special for **Water Color** and **Pastel.**

THE ABOVE COLOR PLATE WILL BE GIVEN IN THE NOV. '93, ISSUE.

Premium No. 3. Special for **China** and **Glass Painting.**

Premium No. 4. Special for **Home** and **Church Embroidery.**

Premium No. 5. Special for **Wood Carving, Modeling, Pyrography, etc.**

Premium No. 6. Special for **Pen Drawing** and **Illustrating.**

Premium No. 7. Special for **Designing for the Trades.**

Premium No. 8. Special for **Home Furnishing** and **Decoration.**

Each of these premium offers consists of 4 splendid numbers of THE ART AMATEUR, with **extra color plates added,** all carefully selected on account of certain articles and designs of special value in each of the above departments of art work. In remitting your $4.00 subscription say which of the above 8 premium offers you prefer to receive. Please also indicate the class of subject you specially desire for color plates; for instance, say if you prefer landscape, animals, flower and fruit, or portrait and figure studies. If for China Painting say if you prefer figure, floral, or conventional designs. Remember, that the choice of the above is open

EIGHT LIBERAL PREMIUM OFFERS

to all who will send this (*Forum*) advertisement and $4.00 (the regular subscription price of THE ART AMATEUR) direct to the publisher, **MONTAGUE MARKS, 23 Union Square, New York.** Specimen Copy of THE ART AMATEUR (with colored studies and 8 large pages of working designs), 25 cents. Illustrated catalogue of about 200 color plates, sent for two-cent stamp.

KNOWLEDGE

brings comfort and improvement, and tends to personal enjoyment, when rightly used. The many, who live better than others and enjoy life more, with less expenditure, by more promptly adapting the world's best products to the needs of physical being, will attest the value to health of the pure liquid laxative principles embraced in the remedy

SYRUP OF FIGS

Its excellence is due to its presenting, in the form most acceptable and pleasant to the taste, the refreshing and truly beneficial properties of a perfect laxative, effectually cleansing the system, dispelling Colds, Headaches and Fevers, and permanently curing Constipation. It has given satisfaction to millions, and met with the approval of the medical profession, because it acts on the Kidneys, Liver and Bowels without weakening them, and it is perfectly free from every objectionable substance. Syrup of Figs is for sale by all druggists in 50 cent and $1.00 bottles, but it is manufactured by the **CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO.** only, whose name is printed on every package, also the name **Syrup of Figs;** and, being well informed, you will not accept any substitute if offered.

CALIFORNIA FIG SYRUP CO.,

San Francisco, Cal.
Louisville, Ky.
New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED